CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

7

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL 339 (r. 86/09)

Canadä

0-315-19452-9

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

107

67360

# PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

- Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur
YVETTE THÉRÈSE MARIE MAHÉ

| | |
|---|---|
| Date of Birth — Date de naissance<br>SEPT. 12, 1940 | Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance<br>CANADA |

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe
55 GILLIAN CRESC.
ST. ALBERT, ALTA.
T8N 0V9

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse
SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHING AND FRENCH IMMERSION: A CASE STUDY OF TWO ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

University — Université
ALBERTA, EDMONTON

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée
Ph.D DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade<br>1984 | Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse<br>DR. C. CHAMBERLIN |

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

| | |
|---|---|
| Date<br>May 2, 1984 | Signature<br>Yvette T. M. Mahe |

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHING AND FRENCH IMMERSION:
# A CASE STUDY OF TWO ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

by

©
YVETTE THERESE MARIE MAHE

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1984

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Yvette Therese Marie Mahe

TITLE OF THESIS "Social Studies Teaching and French Immersion: A Case Study of Two Elementary Teachers' Perspectives"

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1984

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(Signed) Yvette T. M. Mahe

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

55 Gillian Crescent
St. Albert, Alberta
T8N0V9

DATED april 6 1984

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Social Studies Teaching and French Immersion: A Case Study of Two Elementary Teachers' Perspectives" submitted by Yvette Thérèse Marie Mahé in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Elementary Education.

C. Chamberlin
Supervisor

External Examiner

Date April 6, 1984

# DEDICATION

To my husband for his support and understanding,

to my son for his patience,

and to my grandson who has a long path ahead of him.

# ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain two teachers' criteria for judgments and decisions underlying their knowledge selection and organization for social studies teaching in an early elementary French immersion situation and to seek the relationships between their schemes of definitions and interpretations and their actions. Two exploratory questions guided the case study: (1) What are the elements which constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations related to social studies teaching in a French immersion situation? (2) How do teachers fit together their own planned actions for social studies teaching in a French immersion situation with the expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others?

This study was based on the theoretical ideas of symbolic interactionists. A premise of this study is that individuals act toward others or objects on the basis of meanings, that is, they act according to the way they see or construe the world about them. Probes into the system of meanings underlying a grade one and a grade two teacher were conducted by the researcher using a limited participant observation methodology triangulated with unstructured interviewing and document analysis. Intermittent field work was carried out for a period of four months at the grade one level and six months at the grade two level. Extensive field notes were taken and analyzed on an on-going basis in order to discover patterns and relationships to guide further inquiry. Final analysis of the data was completed following the field work.

The ideas, hypotheses, and insights generated from the data disclose that the teachers' social studies judgments, decisions, and actions are influenced by a complex interplay of external and internal elements. These elements suggest that the teachers, who are more committed to second language development, lack a commitment to the purpose and goals of social studies. The conclusion drawn is that parents', school administrators' and school board expectations and demands combined with the teachers' typifications of immersion students' linguistic abilities, needs, and potentials and their commitment to French language development strongly influence their decisions to trade-off social studies goals such as social studies concept development, inquiry process and skill development, and value clarification for second language development goals such as vocabulary development and vocabulary application. The data further suggest that the teachers have their own child socialization goals which form part of their "hidden curriculum."

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Appreciation is extended to a number of individuals:

To Dr. C. Chamberlin who supervised the study.

To Dr. D. Massey.

To Dr. R. Pitts.

To Dr. S. Carey.

To Dr. W. Werner, External Examiner.

To The Canada Council, (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council), Ottawa, Ontario for their financial support in the form of a two year Doctoral Fellowship, 1978-79 and 1979-80.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1

Background and Purpose of the Study . . . . . . . . . . . 1

Statement of the Problem . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 6

Theoretical Framework . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 7

Methodology . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 7

The Case Study and Triangulated Methods and Techniques . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 9

Methodological Limitations . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 13

Limitations of the Study . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 14

Significance of the Study . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 15

II. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH . . . . . 18

The Historical and Social Context of French Immersion Schooling . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19

Parental Expectations and Demands of French Immersion . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19

Expected Role of Teachers of French Immersion . . . 23

Summary of Research on French Immersion . . . . . . 28

Teachers' Pedagogical Decisions and Social Studies Research . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 30

Acquiring Role Definitions . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 30

Subject and Pedagogical Perspectives . . . . . . . . . 32

Typifications of Students . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 36

Summary on Teachers' Pedagogical Decisions and Actions . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 40

Methodological Trends in Social Studies and Educational Research . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 41

CHAPTER PAGE

Competing Paradigms in Educational and Social Studies Research . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 42

Chapter Summary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 47

III. METHODOLOGY . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 49

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 49

The Elements Constituted in Schemes of Definitions and Interpretations . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 51

Fitting Together Lines of Action Through a Process of Interpretation . . . . . . . . . . . . . 54

Linking Symbolic Interactionism to Naturalistic Methodologies . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 56

Probing into Multiple Realities . . . . . . . . . . 56

Subject-Subject Relationship . . . . . . . . . . . 57

The Case Study and The Question of Trustworthiness 58

PROCEDURES, METHODS, TECHNIQUES, AND DATA ANALYSIS . . 61

Finding Volunteers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 61

Volunteers' Acceptance . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 65

Gaining Entry . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 68

First Formal Meeting With the Teachers . . . . . . 69

Limited Participant Observation and Document Examination . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 72

Interviews and Document Examination . . . . . . . . . . 78

GENERATING INSIGHTS, HYPOTHESES, AND IDEAS FROM THE EMERGING DATA . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 91

Field Work Notes and Data Classification and Analysis . 93

The First Classification of Data . . . . . . . . . 93

The Second Classification of Data . . . . . . . . . 96

A Final Analysis of the Data . . . . . . . . . . . 100

CHAPTER PAGE

Chapter Summary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 102

IV. PRESENTATION OF THE DATA . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 104

INTRODUCTION . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 104

ELEMENTS CONSTITUTING SCHEMES OF DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 106

Teachers' Biography . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 107

College, Professional, and Teacher Training . . . . . . 121

Teachers' Career . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 130

Limitations Arising from the School Setting . . . . . . 145

Parental Expectations and Demands of French Immersion . 147

Administrators' Expectations, Demands, and Perceptions. 161

Teachers' Perceptions of Students in the English Program . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 165

Perceptions of Colleagues . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 166

Perceptions of Support Personnel and Services . . . . . 173

Perceptions of the Formal Social Studies Curriculum . . 178

Summary of Elements Constituting Teachers' Definitions. 185

FITTING TOGETHER PROSPECTIVE LINES OF ACTION . . . . . 187

The Knowledge Source for a Classroom Social Studies Curriculum . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 188

The Classroom Atmosphere, A Reflection of a Fitting Together of Social Studies . . . . . . . . 191

Planning Procedures, Processes, and Decisions . . . . . 196

France's Perceptions of Social Studies Planning and Teaching . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 199

Marie's Perceptions of Social Studies Planning and Teaching . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 221

CHAPTER SUMMARY . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 243

CHAPTER PAGE

V. CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . . . . 256

CONCLUSIONS . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 257

QUESTION NO. 1 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 257

Commitment to Second Language Development . . . . 258

Lack of Commitment to the Purpose and Goals of Social Studies . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 259

QUESTION NO. 2 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 260

Fitting External Expectations and Demands to Internal Elements When Selecting Social Studies Knowledge and Means . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 260

Fitting Proposed Plans to On-Going Students' Activities Through a Process of Negotiation and Trade-offs . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 266

Transferability of Conclusions . . . . . . . . . . 267

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . . . . . . . . 270

Need to Develop Teachers' Commitment to Social Studies 270

Need for Research Into Social Studies Teaching in French Immersion . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 276

Methodological Limitations . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 278

Evaluating the Perspective of Symbolic Interactionism. 280

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 284

APPENDIX "A" . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 296

APPENDIX "B" . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 302

APPENDIC "C" . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 316

# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

## Background and Purpose of the Study

French immersion is an educational innovation in second language learning which has, since the early 1970's, rapidly been gaining popularity across Canada. According to H. H. Stern (1981), in a typical French immersion class all or a major portion of the educational program is offered in French to students whose language of communication at home is generally English. Researchers, in their preoccupation with issues relating to the effectiveness of French immersion programs (C. B. Paulston, 1977; Barik and Swain, 1976; Cummins, 1976; Shapson and Kaufman, 1976; Lambert and Peal, 1972) have paid little attention to questions pertaining to the nature of teaching social studies in French to students who have a limited knowledge of the French language.

Since 1976 the author of this study, a bilingual social studies teacher educator, has been struggling with the question of what constitutes realistic social studies teacher preparation for the French immersion situation. Prior to undertaking this study the writer approached practicing teachers during in-service workshops and school visits for insights into what constitutes from their point of view realistic social studies teaching in French immersion. The key insights into teachers' perspectives which emerged as a result of coming into contact with approximately 70 Alberta teachers of French immersion who taught at the elementary level were as follows:

1. When presented with the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum (Alberta Education) document during in-service workshops conducted by the writer several teachers predicted that because of immersion students' limited knowledge of French the "formal" social studies curriculum's goals could not be achieved or implemented in a French immersion situation.

2. A small group of teachers confided that they did not teach social studies in their early elementary classes.

3. Some other teachers stated that in their classrooms they used either commercially prepared "sciences humaines" materials originating from Quebec or that they developed their own version of a social studies curriculum for classroom use.

4. Certain teachers who perceived a causal relationship between second language development and subject matter teaching defined social studies as a means for developing their students' French language skills.

5. A few teachers complained that they did not have the suitable resource materials in French for implementing the "formal" social studies curriculum's goals.

6. Some teachers typified immersion students as being unable to conduct or participate in inquiry oriented activities because they lacked the necessary vocabulary and grammatical structures.

7. There seemed to be a substantively congruent view or a

consensus among the majority of the teachers encountered that a content or knowledge approach to social studies teaching such as getting students to develop their French language skills and to learn historical facts was a normative standard of educational practice in French immersion. A few teachers who did not agree with the majority of their colleagues stated that they believed it was necessary to involve students in classroom activities aimed at developing their creativity (Mahe, 1980).

The implication of the insights yielded from a preliminary exploratory inquiry into teachers' perspectives of social studies teaching in French immersion is that teachers may not be engaging their students in experiences "related to social inquiry into significant social issues" in order to assist them in developing "sensitivity to their human and natural environments, intellectual independence, moral maturity, and effective participation in community affairs" (Alberta Education, 1978, p. 5). If teachers are not engaging French immersion students in activities related to inquiry into significant social issues then what kind of social studies knowledge do they select and organize for immersion students, and why?

The findings from the preliminary exploratory inquiry indicated to the writer that there was a need for a study which explored in more depth the criteria underlying teachers' goals, judgments, and decisions when organizing knowledge for a social studies curriculum for use in a French immersion situation.

A current trend in research on teaching over the last decade is based on the assumption that in order to understand teaching, teachers' goals, judgments and decisions must be understood in relation to their behavior in the classroom context (Shavelson and Stern, 1981, p. 450). After conducting an extensive survey on the status of social studies education, Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979) concluded that students' day by day social studies classroom experiences are dependent on teachers' beliefs, assumptions, values, and expectations on a wide range of topics about schooling and how the teachers decide "to put these together for the classroom" (p. 5).

According to Shavelson and Stern (1981) the findings from case studies and ethnographies on teachers' pedagogical perspectives and actions consistently suggest that teacher decision making is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon and that teachers' pedagogical thoughts, judgments, decisions, and behavior are influenced by a wide variety of external and internal variables. Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979) for example, have identified a variety of external and internal factors or elements which appear to have some influence on teachers' social studies curriculum structuring role such as: teachers' sensitivity to the values of the community and parental expectations and demands; teachers' portrayals and feelings toward university professors, supervisory personnel, curriculum developers, and colleagues; teachers' own schooling and professional training; teachers' knowledge of the subject area and of available materials and techniques; and, teachers' perceptions of students' varying goals and expectations.

From the literature reviewed on teacher decision-making the writer assumed that the pedagogical judgments, decisions and actions of teachers of French immersion must also be influenced by a wide variety of external and internal variables or elements which they must somehow have to fit together when selecting and organizing knowledge for social studies teaching in a French immersion situation. A study was therefore conceived which attempted to describe and explain how teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations of the French immersion situation influence their social studies knowledge selection and organization.

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, schemes of definitions and interpretations refer to the self-interactive and other interactive processes and elements underlying teachers' curricular judgments and decisions as they plan prospective lines of action. Schemes of definitions imply that teachers, as individuals in interaction with others, have acquired and continue to acquire common understandings or normative definitions of how they are expected to act in their role as teachers. Through a process of interpretation, teachers can be viewed when planning a line of action as: a) taking into account or noting a wide variety of external and internal elements arising from the setting such as the expectations, demands, constraints and on-going activities of others, and their own intents, preferences, wants, beliefs, goals and feelings; b) assessing and judging all of these elements in some fashion; and, c) making decisions and proceeding to act on the basis of their assessments and judgments. This study into teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying their social studies knowledge selection and organization was therefore based on the premise that teachers' curricular judgments, decisions and actions when planning prospective lines of action for social studies teaching are influenced by a wide variety of external and internal elements which they must somehow try to fit together.

## Statement of the Problem

The focus of this study was to unearth the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying teachers' knowledge selection and organization for social studies teaching in a French immersion situation. The main problem of the study was:

> What are the schemes of definitions and interpretations used by teachers as they plan lines of action for teaching social studies in French to students who are in the process of acquiring French as a second language?

In order to probe in more depth into the criteria underlying teachers' curricular judgments, decisions, and actions the following two sub-questions guided the inquiry:

1. What are the elements which constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations related to social studies teaching in a French immersion situation?

2. How do teachers fit together their own planned actions for social studies teaching in a French immersion situation with the expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others?

## Theoretical Framework

A research problem which focused on unearthing the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying teachers' social studies knowledge selection and organization for the French immersion situation required a theoretical framework whose basic assumptions recognize the nature of reality and of settings or situations in which people interact as being made up of multiple interrelated realities which are context-bound rather than reality as being made up of a single separable or fragmentable and manipulable reality which is context free. Furthermore, a theoretical and conceptual framework was sought which regarded knowledge as mediating between the social structure and consciousness. Such a framework was found in the theoretical ideas of symbolic interactionists who recognize human beings as defining and interpreting the world about them through a process of self-interaction and of other interaction processes, and of attempting to meet a flow of situations in which they have to act by trying to fit their line of conduct with others' on-going acts.

## Methodology

Blumer's (1969) essay on Symbolic Interactionism Perspective and Method provided the researcher with guidelines for selecting a research method and techniques which could satisfy the theoretical dictates of symbolic interactionism. The methodological position of symbolic interactionism, commonly referred to as a naturalistic investigation, requires that an investigation has to take place in "a given empirical world in its natural, on-going character" (1969,

p. 46), and that the researcher has to attempt to get inside the "world of meanings" of the participant and appreciate the defining process of the actor in order to understand his action" (pp. 51-52).

According to Blumer, getting inside the "world of meanings" of the research participant means that a researcher has to try to see the situation as it is seen by the actor, observe what the participant takes into account and how he interprets what he takes into account, note the alternative kinds of acts that are mapped in advance by the actor, and must try to follow the interpretation that led the actor to select and execute one of these prefigured acts (p. 56). In order to get inside the defining process of the acting individual, Blumer suggests that the researcher has to attempt to take the role of the "acting unit whose behavior he is studying" (p. 86). As far as symbolic interactionists are concerned, man has the ability to role-take (Meltzer, 1967, p. 19), that is, take the role of the actor and see his world from his standpoint (Blumer 1969, p. 93; Mead, 1934, p. 370).

For probing into the "world of meanings" of an actor, Blumer (1969) recommends using a naturalistic inquiry approach and methods or techniques such as direct observation, interviewing of people, listening to their conversations, and examining a variety of pertinent documents or objects (p. 41). In order to probe deeply into two teachers' "world of meanings" for the purpose of this study, the case study approach with a limited participant observation method blended or triangulated with interviewing techniques and document analysis was selected.

## The Case Study and Triangulated Methods and Techniques.

The case study method generally rests on the application of participant observation principles blended or triangulated with a combination of structured and/or unstructured interviews and the collection or analysis of documents. By triangulating or blending methods and techniques the investigator can attempt to "take the role of the acting other, to learn his perspective and to study his conduct from as many relevant situations as possible" (Denzin, 1970, p. 459), and can also check out behavioral data against what is told to the investigator by the respondents (Pohland, 1972, p. 11; Denzin, 1970, pp. 459-460). In other words, triangulation requires the researcher to: a) carry out member checks, that is, to test and verify the on-going data interpretations with the participants; b) to cross-check the internal validity or credibility and the reliability or dependability of the data; and, c) assess the overall trustworthiness or confirmability of the data interpretations (Guba, 1978).

### The Case Study.

In order to be able to probe into teachers' world of meanings from different vantage points and to enter into a subject/subject relationship with the research participants the case study method was selected as it was deemed to satisfy the theoretical dictates of symbolic interactionism.

The case study approach was considered to be congruent with the problem to be investigated for the following reasons: Firstly, the case study allows a researcher to carry out an intensive in-depth naturalistic investigation of a person or a class of persons in a specific situation or social setting (Black and Champion, 1976, pp. 90-91; Helmstadter, 1970, p. 51). Secondly, the case study method allows a researcher to get close to the research subject or subjects in order to record their experiences from their point of view (Denzin, 1970, p. 42). Thirdly, the case study is recognized as a useful research design when exploring a new field of study as it permits the researcher to add to our body of knowledge by gathering a variety of rich data and to generate from this data ideas, suggestions, hypotheses, and insights about human conduct (Helmstadter, 1970, p. 52). Fourthly, the case study approach can yield insights into the commonalities of categories of variables or elements which play part in a given situation across more than one case. This approach allows the researcher to test the external validity or comparability and the transferability of the data findings. At the same time, the investigator has an opportunity to seek out the degree of idiosyncracy of each individual case (Brandt, 1972, p. 216). For the purpose of this study it was possible to compare the situation of a grade 1 and a grade 2 teacher of French immersion.

### Limited Participant Observation.

Participant observation is a method or strategy which allows a researcher to study complex forms of symbolic interaction by observing events directly as they unfold (Denzin, 1970, p. 462). Li (1981), proposes that a researcher can either be: a) an observer who is not involved in the activities of the group he is observing; or,

b) can be involved to some degree in group activities but not to the extent of changing the development of events in a radical way; or, c) a researcher can become fully involved in group activities (p. 58). For the purpose of this study the investigator selected to take a limited participant observer role as it was not her goal to bring about any radical changes in the unfolding events being observed.

As a limited participant observer the researcher was able to observe a grade 1 and a grade 2 teacher of French immersion at intermittent periods during the 1980-81 school year (from October to January at the grade 1 level, and from October to mid-April at the grade 2 level) from the following vantage points: a) as the teachers planned certain aspects of a social studies unit or lesson and as they selected resource materials for classroom use; b) as they taught certain social studies lessons; c) as they assisted their students in getting ready for recess, for lunch, and for home; d) as they encountered others in the school setting such as visiting parents, school administrators, colleagues, teacher aides, resource personnel, and students in the hallways; and, e) as they attended a school board curriculum committee meeting for the articulation of French immersion programs at the elementary level.

Interviewing.

Symbolic interactionists have adopted the position that people must be allowed to tell their own stories in their own words. Hewitt (1979) cautions researchers that it is "illegitimate" for them "to ask only those questions one prepared in advance and to accept only the answers one anticipated" (p. 260).

Unstructured interviewing techniques suggested by Li (1978) such as the usage of general questions, questions based on previous answers, and leading questions allowed the teachers during interviews to freely describe and explain their situation from their point of view. The usage of general questions gave the teachers the freedom to express their views on a topic of importance to them. Questions based on previous answers were used to get the teachers to clarify certain ideas or points raised in previous interviews or when the researcher wanted to test or confirm her interpretations of the two teacher's situation. Leading questions were sometimes used to direct teachers to another topic or to get them to relate a different experience when they appeared to have exhausted a topic.

The interviewing techniques used during the project allowed the investigator to: a) identify the elements which constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying their knowledge selection and organization; and, b) further allowed her to discover, test, and confirm insights, hypothesis, and ideas about how the two teachers attempted to fit together a variety of external and internal elements when planning a prospective line of action for social studies teaching in a French immersion situation.

## Document Analysis.

A wide variety of commercially prepared, teacher and student prepared resource materials used by the teachers as they planned and taught certain social studies lessons were examined. By blending or triangulating document analysis with observations and interviewing techniques the researcher was able to discover, test, and verify ideas, hypotheses, and insights into the criteria underlying two teachers' of French immersion's knowledge selection and organization for social studies teaching, and to cross-check the relationships between what teachers say and do.

## Methodological Limitations

Symbolic interactionists recommend that in order to probe into the "world of meanings" of others that a researcher has to attempt to take the role of the acting other to learn his perspective and to study his conduct in as many relevant situations as possible (Hewitt, 1979, p. 259; Blumer, 1969, pp. 73, 86, 109). Mead (1934) points out in his theory of accessibility that even though human beings have the capacity for role-taking that their role-taking abilities may be limited because individuals cannot assume another person's identity or have complete access to what goes on in that person's head unless that person chooses to tell (pp. 41, 82). The implication of Mead's theory of accessibility for a researcher is that without complete access to participants' private thoughts, or to what the participants think and feel about their experiences the researcher may be faced with having to fill-in certain details through interpretations and by making inferences.

Guba (1978), Blumer (1969), and Becker and Geer (1957) have suggested methodological approaches for minimizing the researcher's effect of "filling-in." These authors propose that a researcher should: a) collect a body of relevant observations in the form of descriptive accounts from a variety of perspectives using triangulated methods; b) cross-check observations with documents or with patterns of action; c) carry out a final analysis of the data once the study is completed in order to certify that data existed "in support of every interpretation" and that the interpretations were made "in ways consistent with the available data" (Guba, p. 88); and, d) reveal to the reader in the research report the underlying epistemological assumptions which led to the formulation of a set of questions in a particular way and to discuss if any changes took place in the researcher's orientation during the research project. The above methodological suggestions were carefully considered during the project.

## Limitations of the Study

This study was limited in the following manner:

1. Social studies was not taught on a daily basis by the grade 1 and 2 teachers and an established schedule had to be respected for classroom observations.

2. Because of the two participating teachers' busy schedule, they were not always available for interviews prior to or after the researcher observed them teaching a social studies lesson.

3. Because of the teachers' busy schedule a time limit of half an hour was set for interviews.

4. Because of unpredictable circumstances the research project was terminated earlier than anticipated. The grade 1 teacher resigned from her teaching position at the end of January because of pregnancy. The grade 2 teacher stopped teaching social studies in mid-April in order to prepare her students for the standardized

school board tests.

## Significance of the Study

Research exploring the nature of social studies teaching in a French immersion situation from the teachers' perspective is almost non-existent, with the exception of the Chaudron (1977) and the Smith and Kelebay (1979) studies.

An observation and analysis by Chaudron (1977) of three teachers' priorities in correcting learners' errors in grade 8 and 9 French immersion Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, and French classes disclosed that all three teachers "had expressed a concern for linguistic development through subject-matter discussions" (p. 38). Chaudron tape-recorded a one half-hour history lesson at the grade 8 level and a one half-hour history lesson at the grade 9 level. He found that even though the grade 8 teacher perceived "the study of history in French as a supplementary opportunity to expand the students' knowledge of French" (p. 35) that this particular teacher tended to neglect linguistic errors more in History and Geography than in French (p. 38). Chaudron found that the grade 9 teacher considered that "only errors of subject matter content or new vocabulary" were important to correct in History (p. 38).

The Smith and Kelebay (1979) survey study focused on the teaching of history to students of French immersion at the secondary level. The researchers concluded in their study that history was being used by teachers as a vehicle for second language development rather than as a subject with its own educational goals. In this exploratory study into the criteria underlying two early elementary

French immersion teachers' social studies knowledge selection and organization, the descriptive data will hopefully provide interested stakeholders with examples and illustrations of the kinds of social studies classroom experiences teachers engage their immersion students in, and the reasons underlying their curricular choices.

The insights, hypotheses and ideas generated in this study could be beneficial to such stakeholders as: a) teacher educators interested in offering a realistic social studies teacher training program to future teachers of French immersion; b) policy-makers and school administrators responsible for assessing the needs of teachers and students involved in French immersion programs; c) curriculum and resource material developers who wish to ensure that French immersion students have access to sound social studies learning experiences and resource materials which are compatible with their second language development and which incorporate social science concepts, and experiences in citizenship development and social inquiry skills; d) school administrators and resource personnel who are responsible for providing moral and material support to teachers of French immersion; e) future and practicing teachers looking for ideas or innovative approaches to social studies teaching in a French immersion situation, or teachers who may want to test their own perspectives and practices against those of their colleagues; f) parents and other interested members of the public who want to broaden their understanding about teachers' and students' experiences in a French immersion context; and, g) researchers who may want to explore how students' limited knowledge of the French language influences teachers' curricular judgments, decisions and actions, or who may want to test the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism for research on teacher decision-making.

# CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

This study was undertaken to describe and explain the schemes of definitions and interpretations used by a grade 1 and a grade 2 teacher of French immersion as each teacher selected and organized knowledge for teaching social studies to students who are in the process of acquiring French as a second language. A current trend in research on teaching and research on social studies education is based on the assumption that in order to understand teaching, "teachers' goals, judgments, and decisions must be understood, especially in relation to teachers' behavior and the classroom context" (Shavelson and Stern, 1981, p. 450), and that qualitative research methods based on the assumptions of a naturalistic paradigm are in order for carrying out studies on teacher decision-making.

In this Chapter the research on French immersion is firstly reviewed as this body of literature provided the writer with insights, hypotheses, and ideas about the possible expectations, demands, and constraints arising from the French immersion situation which might influence teachers' curricular judgments, decisions, and actions. Also in this Chapter the research on teachers' pedagogical decisions and actions and social studies teaching is reviewed as this body of literature yielded further insights, hypotheses, and ideas of possible external and internal elements which teachers may try and fit together when planning a line of action for social studies teaching. Lastly, in this Chapter, literature is reviewed which calls for the need for qualitative research methods based on the assumptions of a naturalistic paradigm in order to carry out educational and social education research which seeks to understand the relationships between teachers' definitions of the situation and their pedagogical judgments, decisions, and actions.

## The Historical and Social Context of French Immersion Schooling

Schools are created by a society "for the purpose of reproducing in the learner the knowledge, attitudes, values, and techniques that have cultural relevancy or currency" (Taba, 1962, p. 12). Each school in a given society operates within a definite historical social situation and each situation can be marked with plural and competing patterns of living (Childs, 1950, p. 7). Concerning the state of affairs of French immersion schooling in Canada, even though there has been a growing demand since the 1970's on the part of some Canadian anglophone families to educate their children in the two official languages, French immersion has not as yet achieved the status of a normative educational program.

French immersion programs in Canada are still "conceived largely as special language programs" (Genesee, 1979, p. 35) and are often a subject of public, political, and private controversy, criticism, and debate. Since their inception in Canadian public and separate schools French immersion programs have sometimes been rejected by school systems and have generated adverse reactions from school administrators, English program teachers, teachers' federations or unions, and from the uninformed public (Roberts, 1981; Morrison, 1979; Greenfield, 1976; Swain and Bruck, 1976).

Initially, with the increasing demands for French immersion programs certain parents, educators, policy-makers, and researchers were concerned with the risks presumed to be involved in learning through French (Cummins, 1979). Public, institutional, and parental pressures have therefore resulted in an overriding focus of research and evaluations being carried out on the academic development of French immersion students, including assessments of their native language development, second language learning and academic achievement (Genesee, 1979, p. 35). Although research has consistently demonstrated the success of French immersion schooling (Cummins, 1979), Bruck (1979) has noted that there are still uninformed parents and educators who feel that "the French immersion program is the cause of, or contributes to, the learning problem" of certain students (p. 43). Bruck has also remarked that parents who lack knowledge about the goals of the French immersion program or who lack a commitment to these goals are generally unreasonable in their expectations and demands of French immersion schooling.

### Parental Expectations and Demands of French Immersion.

Carrothers (1979) has observed that parents who place their children in a French immersion program generally expect them to achieve functional bilingualism, "presumably warmed by the friendships made and experiences shared with children and parents of the other official language and culture" (p. 7). There would seem to be a relationship between the degree of parental expectations of French immersion schooling and their anxieties about their children's achievement. Understandably, parents whose children are being educated in a language in which they themselves do not feel competent will worry and feel apprehensive about their children's schooling.

Parental expectations that their children in French immersion will achieve functional bilingualism and develop relationships with people from the other official language and culture may not be achievable goals in an anglophone setting. Mackey (1978) perceives a dichotomy between the language of instruction in the school and the community language in which the immersion student grows up. Mackey therefore hypothesizes that,

> If in a given year, a child spends some 300 hours in the classroom, he will spend more than five times as long outside of it. What happens language-wise during those many out-of-class hours may be far more important in determining that individual's language future. If all out-of-school activities are done in a language other than that of the classroom--playing, reading, watching television, listening to the radio, shopping, casual conversation, odd-jobbing and the like--it is that other language, rather than the instructional medium, which is likely to dominate (p. 12).

With regard to the question of French immersion students developing friendships with French-speaking young people, such a goal may probably not be achievable. Cziko et al (1979) concluded after assessing the original pilot class of St. Lambert "early immersion" eleven years after the program began that there are very few ways that immersion students can use French outside the school and that developing friendships with French-speaking young people is not common and easy for immersion students to establish (p. 52). Aware of the gap which exists between the language of instruction in a

French immersion setting and the home and community language, Canadian Parents for French, an organization founded in October, 1977 by anglophone parents who have children in French immersion, advise their members of a need to involve their children in extracurricular experiences so that they may experience "French as it is used naturally" (Wightman, 1979, p. 63).

McGillivray (1979), a Superintendent of French Programs with the Carlton Board of Education in suburban Ottawa, has observed that immersion school principals and immersion teachers will spend more than the usual amount of time trying to reassure parents that their children are progressing normally or in counselling them about how to help their children at home either in extending the immersion experience or in enriching their experience in English (p. 108). Bruck (1979) has found that parents usually become anxious if they think that their children are not progressing at an adequate rate. They will subsequently enter into contact with the school. Some of the concerns which Bruck has noted parents will express when calling the school are as follows:

> They are worried because after several months in Kindergarten the child is not fluent in French. A more serious concern also expressed by many parents, is that their child can not read English at some time before English reading has been introduced in the curriculum. They are upset because other children not attending French immersion programs are reading in English or because a classmate in immersion is reading English. They have often asked how they can teach the child or where they can find a tutor (pp. 45 - 46).

The amount of contact between concerned or anxious parents and the school appears to be a normal state of affairs in French immersion. Parents are generally encouraged by the Canadian Parents for French to become actively involved in having a say in the education of their children at all levels of schooling and are advised that nothing as controversial as French immersion can be take for granted (Morrison, 1979). Canadian Parents for French will also urge their members to place a clandestine phone call to teachers when they feel that their children may be having problems coping in a French immersion situation (Wightman, 1979, p. 63). The position taken by Canadian parents for French would therefore appear to have an influence on teachers' role expectations in a French immersion situation.

## Expected Role of Teachers of French Immersion.

The literature on French immersion indicates that even though teachers of French immersion are expected to take a dual role as teachers of French as a second language and as subject area teachers, their expected role may be limited by the training they have received as teachers, by the curriculum they are expected to cover, and by the resource materials and methods available to them.

Teachers of French immersion are perceived by certain school administrators as being "not merely or mainly French language teachers" but also as being "educators who teach through the medium of French as a second language" (The Calgary Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 1, 1979, p. 114). In order to take such a dual role, teachers of French immersion are expected, for example, to:

a) be competent bilinguals who represent Francophone culture;

b) understand the language development of children and be aware of the unique problems inherent in the teaching of subject matter in a second language, including being able to evaluate whether a skill or concept taught is understood by the students; c) be good practitioners at the educational level and in the subject area(s) for which they are responsible; and, d) be resourceful, creative and imaginative in the presentation of subject matter (pp. 114-115). Along a similar vein, Saville and Troike (1971) argue that teachers' pedagogical decisions and procedures in bilingual education "need to be based on a sound understanding of the linguistic, social, psychological, and cultural factors affecting students" (p. 5).

Immersion teachers are expected by the school to have the knowledge, skills, and competencies which allow them to play a dual role as teachers, but it would seem that the majority of the teachers of French immersion are not trained to play such a dual role. Experienced French immersion teachers, according to McGillivray (1979), are "still very rare birds." McGillivray has found that the majority of the teachers in French immersion have either been trained to teach core French, that is French as a second language, or are francophone teachers trained for classroom work in French-language schools with no training in second-language teaching (p. 107). Because teachers of French immersion are rare McGillivray finds that school jurisdiction administrators have to assist beginning teachers in French immersion in areas such as: a) understanding and adapting programs; b) in devising and assessing teaching strategies for immersion; c) in evaluating pupil progress using a new set of criteria; d) in reassuring concerned parents; and, e) in working harmoniously with the English-program teachers whose jobs they may be threatening (p. 108).

With regard to the question of the curriculum for French immersion, it would appear that teachers are expected to implement the same curriculum or a comparable curriculum provided by departments of education and by school boards for unilingual English schools (Wightman, 1979; Stern, 1972). Stern (1972), who is critical of this practice would like to see a curriculum designed specifically for bilingual schools.

Teachers of French immersion may have problems implementing the curriculum as it would appear that there is a lack of appropriate resource materials in French and teaching methodologies which could assist them in their classroom teaching. In their survey of French immersion teachers in British Columbia, Shapson and Kaufman (1976) found that teachers felt that the French language materials produced in Quebec and France "often require extensive adaptation for non-francophone children" (p. 15). According to Yalden (1979), Paulston (1977), and Macnamara (1972), we do not know what the best methods are for second language teaching in a French immersion situation.

A few illustrations were found in the literature which suggest that the content, teaching methods, and strategies used by teachers in French immersion may be more oriented toward involving students in information-acquisition tasks such as language recall, comprehension, or application than in getting students to participate in discovery or inquiry oriented tasks which are more concerned with thought processes such as critical thinking, questioning, simulations, and values and moral education (Ponder, Davis, Jr., 1982, pp. 1723-1732).

From the informal comments made by some teachers in Ottawa, Wightman (1979) noted that classroom topics in French immersion are somewhat limited in early grades and that when teachers introduce a new topic for study their initial step is to develop their students' vocabulary (p. 59). An illustration of a French immersion classroom interaction situation was found in which a teacher talks about how she places an emphasis on developing her students' vocabulary and comprehension skills and how she involves them in language development drills and repetition. Collette Blair, an educator involved with the St. Lambert program in Montreal at the grade 7 level, where, for the first time ever, a group of students were placed in a total immersion program described her classroom interactions with her students in the following manner:

> An "immersion school" for the first few months is painfully silent. The reason, of course, is that the students are listening. You are almost obliged to have the cours magistral, where the teacher teaches and the students listen, because initially the students do not have enough vocabulary to participate very much. After six to eight weeks most students understand enough to know what is going on most of the time. After the first term there is no one left who has major problems in comprehension. They understand what is going on, they participate more in lessons; they speak, they use the language. They don't always use it correctly, of course; they make basic errors. The idea is to pick out these major errors and to drill them to eliminate basic faults of structure. This is difficult in the immersion situation, since you find yourself faced with bored students if you do too much drilling and repetition (Swain and Stern, editors, 1972, p. 26).

Paulston (1977) suspects that English as a second language techniques from the direct methods as well as from a cognitive code approach are being used by certain teachers in French immersion programs. For example, she found during a classroom observation that a third grade boy asked her if a particular word was a verb. His task, she noted, "was a controlled composition in which he had to rewrite all the present tense verbs in the imperfect." Such an approach, Paulston added, "is an ESL technique par excellence" (p. 147).

The few illustrations found in the literature on French immersion suggest that second language teaching takes place in a highly controlled situation. According to Wightman's (1979) observations, it would seem that if students are encouraged to express their thoughts and ideas in French before mastering all the grammar involved, the students have a tendency "to develop their own dialect of French," that is, "they produce and repeat expressions and structures not normally used" (p. 59). For certain researchers and educators working in the field of conversational or discourse analysis, getting children "to say something" (McLaughlin, 1982; Hatch, 1978; Wong-Fillmore, 1976) is their first rule. The main goal of conversational or discourse analysis is to encourage children "to get the message across regardless of whether the form was correct or not" (McLaughlin, 1982). Recognizing that children need to interact through language, McLaughlin has noted that with time the children will work on the finer points of grammar and incorporate those devices and apply those rules that make the language more "nativelike" (p. 1676).

From the few illustrations available on teaching in a French immersion situation it would seem that teachers place a high priority on developing their students' French language skills. Only one study was found in the literature reviewed on French immersion which addressed the question of how teachers perceive social science teaching in a French immersion situation. Smith and Kelebay (1979) conducted a survey among secondary school teachers and administrators in 33 greater Montreal schools offering a French immersion program in order to obtain insights as to the place of history in French immersion. The investigators found that teachers judged that the concepts and reasoning required for history were just too difficult for students to learn in the second language. The teachers explained that students lacked vocabulary, had difficulties with terminology, and experienced difficulties in constructing sentences. Some of the teachers stated that because of their students' limited knowledge of the French language, they did not conduct classroom activities such as discussions and debates. Smith and Kelebay concluded from their survey findings that stressing the learning of French has, in some cases, become the "idee fixed" of the school system and that as a result the objectives of the history program were in danger of being sacrificed to language learning. One of Smith and Kelebay's recommendation was that the emphasis in history should be, and continue to be, "history in French" and not "French through history" (p. 249). The Smith and Kelebay findings suggest that teachers in French immersion may be trading-off subject matter goals for second language development goals.

### Summary of Research on French Immersion.

French immersion, which still seems to be conceived as a special language program in the minds of certain parents, school administrators, researchers, teachers, program developers and others appears to create anxieties and pressures on teachers of French immersion. Even though French immersion teachers are expected to cover the same curriculum or a comparable curriculum to that taught in unilingual English schools, it would seem that teachers are influenced by a variety of external and internal expectations, demands, and constraints which causes them to place a high priority on second language development.

Parental and school administrators' expectations and demands that children achieve functional bilingualism appear to create pressures on teachers who are not only faced with having to teach students with a limited knowledge of the French language but who also lack the necessary resource materials and methodologies to carry out their task. From the paucity of evidence available it would appear that the majority of the teachers have not been prepared to teach French immersion and as a consequence seem to draw upon second language teaching methods which are more applicable to teaching English as a second language than French in an immersion situation. An insight yielded from the literature reviewed is that vocabulary development may be of major concern to teachers in French immersion.

The Smith and Kelebay (1979) study suggests that teachers will trade-off history goals for second language development goals for reasons such as: the school system's expectations and demands that teachers should stress second language development, and the teachers' own conceptions of students' language abilities and their linguistic potential for dealing with the concepts and processes of history.

The literature reviewed on French immersion suggests that immersion teachers' pedagogical judgments, decisions, and actions are more than likely influenced or limited by public, institutional, and interactional expectations and demands combined with their own perceptions and understandings of the French immersion situation.

Teachers' Pedagogical Decisions and Social Studies Research.

The literature reviewed on research on teachers' pedagogical decisions assisted the writer during her research project in identifying elements which might possibly constitute immersion teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations of the French immersion situation. In addition, the literature reviewed on social studies education provided the researcher with insights into how teachers of French immersion might possibly fit together external demands and expectations with their own internal elements when selecting and organizing social studies knowledge for classroom use.

### Acquiring Role Definitions.

Becoming a teacher, Delamont (1976) explains, means that one learns to occupy a role, a role which has existed for centuries and which prescribes to its new members certain ways of behaving while at the same time allowing them an amount of creative interpretation. Teachers' subject preferences and pedagogical perspectives underlying their classroom curriculum-in-use reflect the wider, historial, educational epistemologies of their culture's philosophies of life (Zais, 1976; Esland, 1971, p. 109). All teachers, Delamont points out, come to the classroom "with certain bargaining counters and certain attitudes in common, because they are teachers" (p. 42). The teachers' own education, Taba (1962) and Childs (1950) state, conditions them to perceive the function of the school as either a cultural heritage maintaining agency or as an agent of change in society.

Teachers are responsible for interpreting and translating the societal educational prescriptions or the "formal" curriculum documents in terms of their own experience and their students' experience (Zais, 1976, p. 13), but if teachers do not approve of any curricular changes they can veto a formal curriculum (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979). Since the 1960's, social science concepts and the inquiry methodology have been infused in the social studies curriculum yet research evidence to date overwhelmingly shows that the social studies curriculum is still dominated by the subjects of history and geography and that lectures and recitations are still the dominant methodologies used by teachers in their social studies classrooms (Ponder and Davis, Jr., 1982, p. 1726; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn, 1979, p. 61).

Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979) assume that the reason why teachers' social studies curriculum does not include critical-thinking and inquiry experiences for their students is because these approaches to knowledge "may simply not be compatible with the socialization aims of the teachers called upon to use them" (p. 9). From a similar point of view, Zais (1976) reminds us that it is pitifully naive to assume that what appears in a curriculum guide, or course of study is what is actually taught in classrooms (p. 477). Likewise, Stenhouse (1975) informs us that there are two views of curriculum, curriculum "as an intention, plan or prescription, an idea about what one would like to see happen in schools" and, curriculum "as reality," that is, "as the existing state of affairs in schools, what does in fact happen" (p. 2).

In an attempt to provide a rational explanation as to why social studies teachers in United States classrooms are generally more concerned with getting their students to learn an accepted body of knowledge instead of involving them in the "formal" social studies curriculum's goals aimed at developing students' critical thinking and inquiry skills, Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979) deduced that the teachers' own schooling at the undergraduate as well as the precollege level conditioned them to play a productive and subordinate role rather than to play an independent speculative role as thinkers and investigators. As a consequence, Shaver, Davis, and Helburn point out, teachers will share the same concerns for socialization, for orderly schools, and for student knowledge as reflected in texts over textbook content (p. 11). Shaver, Davis, and Helburn therefore conclude that teachers' perceptions of their role in socialization fits "the sociological and anthropological view that formal schooling functions in part to transmit and preserve society's values" (p. 9).

## Subject and Pedagogical Perspectives.

The day by day social studies classroom experiences of students depends basically upon teachers' beliefs about schooling, their knowledge of the subject area and of available materials and techniques, and how they decide to put these together for the classroom. How teachers will filter through or sift through the formal knowledge and translate this formal knowledge into a curriculum for classroom use will more than likely depend upon the sets of assumptions about pedagogy which they bring to their work in the form of what Apple (1975) refers to as habits of thought or habitual ways of perceiving which become part of their taken-for-granted reality. In addition, how teachers interpret public, institutional, and interactional expectations and demands will also influence or set boundaries on their pedagogical decisions (Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Barr, 1980; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn, 1979; Delamont, 1976; Childs, 1950).

Historically, selecting knowledge for social control was the major task of early curriculum workers, and they developed an identifiable set of procedures for the selection and organization of school knowledge which was to be taught to teachers and other educators (King and Apple, 1979, p. 45). With the growing pressures of modernization and industrialization, selecting knowledge for organizational efficiency and economic functionalism dominated the curriculum choices (p. 49). The knowledge selected for a school curriculum will therefore reflect the dominant social, political, and economic ideologies of a given society. The normative and conceptual knowledge and meanings that teachers, through their common sense practices, sift through and transmit to students in their classrooms through the curriculum in use will obviously reflect their social definitions about school knowledge (pp. 50-51).

Questions addressing what we understand by the term knowledge, the structure of knowledge, what knowledge is of most worth, and how knowledge is related to subject matter and teaching and learning have been debated by philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, social scientists, subject matter specialists, educational and curriculum theorists, to name a few (Apple, 1979; Eisner and Vallance, 1974; Hersom, 1974; Bernstein, 1971; Blum, 1971; Esland, 1971; Keddie, 1971; Young, 1971; Polanyi, 1969; Soltis, 1968; Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Chisholm, 1966; Broudy, 1961; Ayer, 1956; Ryle, 1949; Mannheim, 1936). Hersom (1974), for example, provides the following definition of knowledge as it relates to curriculum decision-making. The concept of knowledge, she writes,

> is directly related to the choices made from among all the realms of knowledge, that is what knowledge is of most worth. It is also indirectly related to curriculum choices by means of the values held by those who are responsible for selecting and organizing the knowledge included in a curriculum (p. 11).

An example is provided by Walker (1974) as to how knowledge becomes selected and then sifted through by teachers. Walker points out that with the strong external pressures being placed on teachers at the primary level to emphasize the areas of reading and language arts, "coupled now with the increasing emphasis on modern mathematics and science" it becomes obvious why a subject such as social studies can become "a neglected area" (p. 42). Because of the strong external pressures on the kinds of knowledge which are recognized as having more worth, teachers, Walker adds, will not rank social studies in the primary grades as being important.

According to Esland (1971), the subject and pedagogical perspectives of teachers form a large part of their professional knowledge which has been transmitted to them through the social organization of educational institutions (p. 105). Esland further explains that the knowledge teachers' may have of a subject is generally held in common with members of a supporting community "who collectively approve its paradigms and utility criteria." In addition, he adds that teachers have certain core assumptions about their subjects which are interrelated with their assumptions about pedagogy, their conceptions of what constitutes thinking, and their perceptions about the intellectual status of their students (p. 78). Furthermore, Esland sees a link between subjects and pedagogical practices as subjects contain within them frames of reference and methodologies which guide "the selection of data and the conferal of validity" (p. 84).

Teachers' concepts of knowledge and their subject perspectives or world-view of the subject influences, in part, their curricular choices (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn, 1979; Hersom, 1974; Esland, 1971; Smith and Geoffrey, 1968). Jackson and Kieslar (1977) contend that the way in which teachers acquire their view of reality "is as complicated as the view itself." Part of their view, they hypothesize, "doubtlessly derives from the common events of life, a portion is surely attributable to professional training, and another to professional experience" (p. 14). According to Esland (1971), colleges of education devote much of their teaching to the inculcation of subject knowledge, the dissemination of psychological theories, and in certain colleges, sociological theories. Esland therefore assumes that there is a likelihood that these psychological and sociological theories will become a constitutive category in the pedagogical perspectives of teachers (p. 88).

Imbedded in teachers' views of knowledge and their subject perspectives are their way of seeing the world, their vision of what might be achievable purposes, goals, objectives, and/or aims, and their hopes, expectations, and aspirations. What teachers think a subject is, will more than likely depend on their perception of the interrelations between aims and process (Esland, 1971, p. 99; Freire, 1970, p. 206). What goes on in the head of teachers, Smith and Geoffrey (1968) suppose, is a critical antecedent of what teachers actually do (p. 96). Jackson and Kieslar (1977) propose that in addition to seeing the world in a particular way, teachers try to extend their vision into the future "in the form of goals and objectives" and in order to attain their goals and objectives they must know what means, techniques, procedures, plans of action and methods to use (p. 15). The mode or approach to instruction preferred by teachers will therefore reflect their philosophical stance regarding control of human behavior and also their beliefs about the nature of learners and learning (Charles, 1976, p. 56).

### Typifications of Students.

Because teachers spend most of their time interacting with children, their conceptions, typifications, and expectations of children will have a strong influence on their curricular decisions and actions (Downey and Kelly, 1979; Delamont, 1976, p. 57; Israel, 1972). The knowledge teachers select and organize for students is partially based on their typifications and interpretations of students as social, moral, psychological, and intellectual persons (Keddie, 1971, p. 143) and on their assumptions and beliefs about the values and attitudes which they should impart to them so that they will become adjusted, participating citizens (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn, 1979, p. 9).

In their review of research on teachers' pedagogical thoughts, judgments, decisions and behavior, Shavelson and Stern (1981) found that teachers, when planning and carrying out instruction, attend to a variety of information about students such as: students' general ability or achievement, sex, class participation, self-concept, social competence, independence, classroom behavior and work habits (p. 462). Using stimulated recall interviews in order to get at teachers' interactive thoughts about pupils, MacKay and Marland (1978) found "that teachers do carry round in their heads quite extensive inventories of information about some students at least" and that teachers' "student descriptions tended to be common terms from everyday conversation" (p. 16). The interviewers inferred that the sets of facts, opinions, and attitudes held by the teachers about students "could be the fertile bases from which teachers fashioned the customized treatment patterns they used on students" (p. 16).

It is not uncommon for teachers to select and organize different kinds of knowledge for different kinds of students. For instance, the knowledge teachers have of students or the way in which they judge the ability of students may be based on such things as the stream in which these students have been placed or the social class from which these students come (Downey and Kelly, 1979, p. 29). Keddie (1971) provides the following illustration of a team of teachers who were planning the next part of a social studies course for students in different streams. The A stream students, for example, were perceived by the teachers as being more like themselves, therefore unproblematic as far as selecting knowledge for them was concerned. The C stream pupils were perceived as disrupting teachers' expectations and violating their norms of appropriate social, moral, and intellectual pupil behavior. As a consequence, Keddie observed that selecting social studies teaching materials and subject content for these students was problematic for the teachers. The teachers, for example, assumed that C pupils could not master subjects, as they perceived that the abstractions of sociology and the economic implications were inaccessible to these types of students (p. 148).

Through a process of typification and interpretation teachers can be seen as constructing what Esland (1971) calls zones of knowledge for students which contain the assumptions which lie behind their choice of methodologies and reality tests of teaching (p. 73). Based on their past experiences with students in certain situations teachers will categorize students according to what they know or think they know about them (Downey and Kelly, 1979, p. 29).

As a result of having entered into negotiations with different types of students, teachers develop "vocabularies which they take for granted as plausible" (Esland 1971, p. 72) and use these vocabularies in order to describe different types of students. According to Delamont (1976), the process of negotiation is on-going and influences how teachers' define and redefine their everyday classroom realities (p. 25). Martin (1975), for example, in his research on teacher-pupil interaction from a negotiation perspective found that teachers will refer to students in various degrees of categories ranging from the "continuously negotiables" to the "non-negotiables." The continuously negotiable pupils, Martin writes, are perceived by teachers as working well on their own, of having good ideas, of being reasonable, motivated and doing well academically, and of being socially adjusted to the over-all expectations of the class situation (p. 533). The non-negotiable pupils seem to be the opposites of the negotiables as they are perceived by teachers as being passive and quiet and seldom motivated to take part in classroom learning experiences, or they are perceived as being undisciplined, defiant, lacking tolerance for tasks they do not enjoy, and as being unreasonable and unwilling to cooperate (p. 532). This means that the terms "continuously negotiables" and "non-negotiables" used by educators when referring to different types of students reflect not only their private biases about relationships between students' behavior, attitudes, and intellectual capacities but also reflect what Israel (1972) refers to as teachers' "stipulative assumptions on a pre-scientific level concerning Man and society which in fact may form the basis for social organization" (p. 123). Barnes (1975) sustains that the process of negotiations which takes place in teacher-pupil interactions implies that students have objectives, beliefs and values which influence teachers' classroom decisions (pp. 187-188).

Summary on Teachers' Pedagogical Decisions and Actions.

The literature reviewed on research on teachers' pedagogical decisions and on social studies education suggests that:

1. External elements such as public, institutional, and interactional expectations and demands seem to influence teachers' perceptions of the role they are expected to take and make as agents of socialization, and that these external elements may also influence or limit their pedagogical decisions concerning knowledge selection and organization for classroom use.

2. Internal elements such as teachers' cultural, educational, and career experiences seem to influence their definitions of the function of schools, their interpretations of the normative role they are expected to play in child socialization and in the intellectual development of students, their concepts of knowledge, their subject and pedagogical perspectives, and their conceptions of students.

3. Teachers' interpretations of their expected role, their concepts of knowledge, their subject and pedagogical perspectives, and their typifications and interpretations of students seem to influence their commitment or lack of commitment to certain prescribed or formal educational goals, and the different kinds of knowledge and classroom experiences they will organize for different types of students.

The literature on teacher decision-making and on social education research suggests that what social studies will be for any student in a French immersion classroom will depend on how teachers define and interpret public, institutional, and interactional demands and expectations and how they fit together external elements with their own conceptions and interpretations of social studies, child socialization, and their philosophical stance toward second language teaching and learning in a French immersion situation.

## Methodological Trends in Social Studies and Educational Research.

In the field of social studies research and educational research the naturalistic mode of inquiry which is generally associated with qualitative research has become an alternate mode of inquiry or a competing paradigm to the conventional or traditional rationalistic inquiry paradigm (Guba, 1978), or behavioristic research model (Nelson and Cornbleth, 1982, pp. 218-220). Studies which aim to come to grips with the "meanings" individuals employ when planning a line of action require a research paradigm which allows the researcher to experience the participants' world insofar as possible, and which allows the participants to tell their own stories in their own words. According to Blumer (1969), the methodological position of symbolic interactionism requires the direct naturalistic examination of the empirical social world (p. 40). The term naturalistic refers to a paradigm for inquiry which rests on certain key assumptions about the nature of reality, the nature of the inquirer/respondent relationship, and the nature of 'truth' statements.

Qualitative research, or case study research, field research, and ethnographic research are modes of inquiry which generally fall under the rubric of naturalistic inquiry (Le Compte and Goetz, 1982). In recent years, the naturalistic paradigm has also been referred to as the phenomenological, anthropological, or ethnographic paradigm (Guba, 1978). Qualitative research modes have become recognized as alternative approaches to the quantitative research, or experimental, quasi-experimental or survey research approaches for: a) generating meaningful knowledge or hypotheses, ideas, insights, and a strong feeling of reality about social studies teaching in classroom situations (Nelson and Cornbleth, 1982; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn, 1979); b) for investigating teachers' goals, judgments, and decisions in relation to their behaviour and the classroom context (Shavelson and Stern, 1981); and, c) for studying the social and human world from a more holistic pespective which pays attention to the complex social contexts in which people interact (Eisner, 1983; Smith 1983; Wilson, 1977).

## Competing Paradigms in Educational and Social Studies Research.

The term 'paradigm' as defined by Kuhn (1970) refers to 'normal science' (p. 10). Kuhn advocates that "men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards for scientific practice" (p. 11). Whenever novel theories emerge, Kuhn states, a crisis exists in the scientific community. Debates, Kuhn argues, are not really about relative problem-solving ability but instead revolve around the issue of which paradigm should in the future guide research (p. 157).

In the field of educational and social studies research, researchers have had to borrow their methodologies from either the natural and physical sciences, the social and behavioral sciences, or the arts and humanities because there is no special methodology that belongs to the field of educational research (Howe II, 1976). Eisner (1983) has noted that for 80 years educational research has been defined as a species of educational psychology and that educational psychology was influenced largely by behaviorism and positivism. As a consequence, he points out, only those researchers who did what was conventional had access to the pages of research journals. Nelson and Cornbleth (1982) also indicate that historically, research in social studies education has been carried out using variants of the behavioristic, statistically oriented, and usually experimental models which strongly reflect the influence of the natural sciences via psychology and educational psychology (p. 218). The trend in recent years, Eisner (1983) has found, is that a growing number of educational researchers "are exploring methods and epistemological assumptions that significantly depart from those historically approved" (p. 14). As the dominant paradigm for doing educational research in the past has been grounded in the physical or natural sciences, researchers with an interest in alternate research approaches founded on naturalistic assumptions have been faced with debating the issue of quantitative vs. qualitative methods and with having to justify the credibility or value of their findings (Eisner, 1983; Phillips, 1983; Smith 1983; Fetterman, 1982; Brofenbrenner, 1976; Lutz and Ramsay, 1974).

The paradigmatic debate in education, Smith (1983) reports, has "tended to obfuscate rather than clarify" the issue. Smith has noted that name calling goes on in print between qualitative and quantitative supporters. Qualitative supporters will refer to the other side as "bankrupt," or "number-crunchers," whereas the quantitative researchers will call the other side "storytellers" (p. 6). Furthermore, Le Compte and Goetz (1982) write that a common criticism levied against qualitative researchers is that their investigation "fails to adhere to canons of reliability and validity" and that qualitative researchers are faced with having to justify themselves (p. 31). The terms "reliability" and "validity" become blurred and almost incoherent when applied to natualistic or qualitative studies as the two paradigmatic frameworks begin with different sets of assumptions and premises about the empirical social world.

Another debate between qualitative and quantitative inquirers has been over the issue of "objectivity." Roszak (1969) advances the idea that reliable knowledge, that is knowledge that is scientifically sound, has been characterized by rationalists in terms of "objectivity," a state of consciousness supposedly cleansed of all subjective distortion and all personal involvement (p. 208). In recent years, many physical scientists, social scientists, and educational researchers have argued that the principles of "objectivity" are a myth, that is, it is not possible for researchers to be detached observers as no matter what rigorous methodological safeguards they may build into their research design they still manage to influence what they are observing (Zukav, 1979, pp. 112-114; Heinsberg in Deiner and Crandall, 1978, p. 185; Capra, 1975, p. 145; Roszak, 1969, pp. 205-238; Bonner, 1965, pp. 11-33).

There are basically three sets of assumptions which distinguish the naturalistic and rationalistic paradigms. The naturalistic paradigm rests on the assumption that there are multiple realities whereas the rationalistic paradigm seems to be founded on the assumption that there is a single reality which is separable or fragmentable into variable or independently manipulatable parts (Guba, 1978, p. 77). Naturalists begin with the assumption that the researcher has to establish a subject/subject relationship with the respondent in an attempt to try to see the world from the subject's standpoint whereas rationalists insist that an object/object relationship be established between the researcher and respondent in order for the researcher to be able to view the actor and his actions from a discrete distance, that is from the standpoint of an outside detached observer (Guba, 1978, p. 77; Blumer, 1969, pp. 94-109). Naturalists begin with the assumption that all social behavioral phenomena are context-bound and that it is therefore not possible to develop truth statements or generalizations that are context-free or unchanging over time, whereas rationalists seem to believe that it is possible to obtain truth statements, or generalizations that are context-free and that are unchanging over time (Guba, 1978).

In their review of the status of social studies education, Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979) acknowledge the richeness of variants of qualitative studies. They perceive a need for carefully designed studies of teachers' beliefs, values, and expectations as they assume that such studies will provide a basis for understanding what does and can happen in social studies classrooms (p. 16). Ponder, and Davis, Jr. (1982) in their analysis of research on social studies education completed since 1970 call for more descriptive research on the development and practice of social studies education (p. 1729). Nelson and Cornbleth (1982) have also identified a need for social studies research to go beyond quantitative and behavioristic modes. They recommend using the theoretical perspectives and research modes of history and the social sciences, particularly sociology and anthropology, philosophy, the arts, and the humanities (p. 218). Nelson and Cornbleth add that the trend toward qualitative research approaches in social studies research is based on a realization by researchers that by ignoring the social contexts and the complexity of interaction among participants and between participants and their environments, "social studies research in many respects, has been asocial" (p. 218).

Given that schools are cultural creations, it is understandable that imbedded in the social life of a school or classroom are multiple realities. In order to understand the meaningful world in which social studies teachers and students interact with cultural resources and symbols, it is imperative for researchers to have the freedom to draw upon a variety of methodologies which best fit the social empirical world. Blumer (1969) cautions researchers to be careful not to try to fit or force preexisting normative or conventional definitions upon the empirical social world as the social world has an obdurate character, that is, it can "talk back" to our pictures of it or assertions about it--"talk back" in the sense of challenging and resisting or not bending to our conceptions of it (p. 22).

Realizing that the social empirical world has an obdurate character which does not fit the theoretical and methodological tools of the physical and natural sciences many educational and social studies reseachers have shifted toward the theoretical and methodological tools of the social and human sciences. In recent years, qualitative studies, including case studies, portrayals, participant observation, and ethnographic studies have, according to Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979), contributed to a "holistic" feeling for the teacher's classroom life (p. 14). Furthermore, as far as knowledge building is concerned, naturalistic inquiries which probe into teachers' multiple world of meanings can, as Shaver, Davis, and Helburn point out, add to our understanding of "what does and can happen in social studies classrooms" (p. 16).

## Chapter Summary.

The literature reviewed in this Chapter provided the researcher with insights, ideas, and hypotheses about the possible external and internal elements which could influence immersion teachers' social studies knowledge selection and organization. In particular, the literature reviewed on French immersion and teachers' pedagogical decisions suggests that the elements such as public, institutional, and parental expectations and demands of schooling and child socialization combined with teachers own cultural, educational, and career experiences would appear to influence their role expectations and knowledge selection and organization. In addition, the literature reviewed also suggests that educational prescriptions such as helping students develop inquiry skills and critical thinking in social studies may not be compatible with the socialization aims of teachers.

The literature reviewed in this Chapter therefore suggests that the day by day social studies experiences of students depend basically upon teachers' beliefs about schooling, their knowledge of the subject area and of available materials and techniques, and how they decide to put or fit these together with the various external demands, expectations and contraints arising from their situation or context.

Also in this Chapter the relevant literature on research methodologies calling for the need for a naturalistic paradigm of inquiry using qualitative research methods for the purpose of investigating social studies teachers' goals, judgments, and decisions in relation to their curricular actions in a classroom context was reviewed.

# CHAPTER III

## METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this Chapter was to outline the relationships between the guiding theoretical and methodological perspective underlying this study, and to describe and explain the methodological and technical procedures followed for probing into the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying two early elementary French immersion teachers' knowledge selection and organization as they planned prospective lines of action for social studies teaching.

## SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

The term "symbolic interactionism" was coined by Blumer in 1937 in an article written in Man and Society (Blumer, 1969, p. 1). Since then, this particular term has come into use as a label for a "relatively distinctive approach to the study of human group life and human conduct" (p. 2). The foundations for interactionism were largely laid by Georg Simmel (1855 - 1918) and George Herbert Mead (1863 - 1931). Other early scholars associated with symbolic interactionism include John Dewey, W. I. Thomas, Robert E. Park, Charles Horton Cooley, Florian Znaiecki, James Mark Baldwin, Robert Redfield, and Louis Wirth. The most notable scholar who actually provided the intellectual impetus for symbolic interactionism was George Herbert Mead. Mead's thinking strongly influenced Blumer

(1969) whose aim was to formulate the position of symbolic interactionism and to provide a reasoned statement of its methodological position.

The theoretical and conceptual framework for this study was mainly influenced by the works of the following symbolic interactionists: Blumer (1969) who, relying chiefly on the thought of George Herbert Mead set out a methodological position for symbolic interactionism; Hewitt (1979) who developed a thesis on the forms of knowledge underlying the processes of role-making and role taking; Hewitt (1979, pp. 120-124), Waller (1970), and Thomas (in Manis and Meltzer, 1967) who explicated the importance of the concept, "the definition of the situation" for symbolic interaction theory; Strauss (1978) who dealt with the notion of "negotiation" as an interactive process; and, Cooley (in Manis and Meltzer, 1967), and Blumer (1969) who explored the link between thought, feeling and emotions as they relate to the interaction and self-interaction processes.

The interactionist view of human conduct is dominated by the image that people, through an interaction and self-interaction process, actively and creatively engage their environment in the course of meeting their needs. Symbolic interactionism rests on three simple premises. The first premise is that human beings act toward things and others on the basis of the meanings that the things and others have for them. The second premise is that the meaning of things and others is derived from, or arises out of the social interaction that an individual has with others. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified by the individual through an interpretative process (Blumer, 1969). From a symbolic interactionist perspective the way human beings act toward things and significant others in situations will therefore depend on how they define and interpret a variety of external and internal elements which constitute their situation.

## The Elements Constituted in Schemes of Definitions and Interpretations

Having a self human beings can identify the roles they and others are expected to take and make in particular situations (Hewitt, 1979, p. 124). The self therefore constitutes a variety of elements which all come into play in the self-interaction process as individuals define and interpret their situation and as they plan, construct and organize a line of action.

People's actions or roles take place in specific contexts or settings (Hewitt, 1979, p. 120). Thus, the grasp individuals may have of the nature of a particular setting and of the activities that have taken place there in the past and that are likely to occur again will constitute their definition of the situation. According to Waller (1970), the definition of the situation is a process in which individuals, prior to acting, explore, examine, and feel out through behavior and thought the behavior possibilities of a situation, noting in particular the limitations which the situation imposes upon their prospective line of conduct. Individuals will then form an attitude toward the situation, thereby defining the situation in one way and not in another (pp. 162-163).

When organizing a prospective line of action how individuals will judge, analyze and evaluate the things or elements they have noted and designated to themselves in the self-interaction process and how they will judge the possibilities of the situation will depend on the sets of meanings and schemes of interpretations they already possess (Blumer 1969, p. 20). As individuals interact with others over a life-time they develop and acquire common understandings "or definitions of how to act in this or that situation" (p. 86). The concepts of biography and career, according to Hewitt (1979), capture the vertical linkage between individuals over time, implying that they will develop fairly patterned expectations as to what they will be doing or how they will act at various points in their lives (p. 197).

In the self-interaction process, when planning a prospective line of action, individuals may therefore draw upon their past and present set of meanings, schemes of interpretations, and forms of knowledge such as: a set of standard expectations and assumptions or typifications about what they think others usually, ordinarily, generally, and typically do (Hewitt, 1979, pp. 134-136); a set of assumptions or notions of probability about what they think will happen under various conditions (pp. 136-137); a set of beliefs that some situations or conditions are causally related to others (p. 137); a set of beliefs and assumptions or normative standards about what is morally or normatively necessary or forbidden in various situations (pp. 138-140); a set of conceptions about the appropriate or necesary means and ends relationships needed to negotiate their everyday affairs and to interact with others

(p. 138); and, schemes of interpretations which allow them to apply a kind of reality test in order to check whether their definition of a situation is substantively congruent with the definition others apply to the same situation (pp. 140-141).

Individuals have also developed certain forms of personal or social knowledge such as sentiments, emotions, and feelings (Cooley, in Manis and Meltzer, 1967, pp. 68-69) which come into play with other elements in the self-interaction process. According to Blumer (1969), in the process of self-interaction individuals may be aware that they have given emotions and feelings and act accordingly. Blumer further explains that as individuals are conscious that they have given emotions or feelings toward something or someone, they can indicate such things to themselves, place themselves over and against these things and act against them, that is, either accepting these emotions or feelings, rejecting them, or transforming them in accordance with how they define and interpret them and how they handle them in the action which they are constructing (pp. 141-142). According to Dewey, "there is no thought unless it be enkindled by an emotion" (in Johnson, 1969, p. 16).

When organizing a prospective line of action individuals are seen by Blumer (1969) as noting and designating to themselves such things or elements as: their perceptions of their situation; the presence and actions of others; the expected actions of others; the expectations and demands of others; the rules and norms of their society or of a particular group; objects around them, their recollections; their goals; their wants; their conceptions of themselves; their feelings and emotions; and, their images of prospective lines of conduct. Through further interactions with themselves individuals may judge, analyze, and evaluate the things they have noted and designated to themselves and then judge the possibilities of the situation (pp. 55-64).

### Fitting Together Lines of Action Through a Process of Interpretation.

Occasionally, in the process of interacting with others in a particular context or setting, individuals may find that their definition of the situation is not congruent with the definition held by others. In such situations, individuals may be faced with having to fit their definition of the situation or their prospective line of action to meet the expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others. According to Blumer (1969), acting individuals attempt to fit their respective lines of action through a process of interpretation.

Through a process of interpretation, acting individuals can identify the things or others which they have to take into account in order to fit their line of action to the on-going activities, expectations, and demands of others, assess and judge these things or others in some fashion, and then interpret their situation before acting. Blumer points out that individuals, when faced with having to fit their line of action to the norms, values, and group prescriptions may find themselves having to arrest, reorganize, direct, check, bend, transform or adjust their own intentions, goals, wishes, feelings, and attitudes (pp. 53-60).

Hewitt (1979) explains that people are usually sensitive to one another's expectations and attempt to live up to them but that sometimes if they are not able to arrive at some kind of mutual agreement conflicts may ensue. In order to avoid conflicts people will sometimes enter into negotiation. Mead (1934) recognized that individual members of a given organized human society have the capacity to consciously or intelligently reconstruct and modify their own selves or proposed action (p. 309). Such a process of reconstruction or modification may come about because individuals have attempted to arrive at some kind of mutual agreement with others either through a process of bargaining, making deals, or of negotiation and making trade-offs (Strauss, 1978; Strauss, 1977). One of the main reasons why people enter into negotiation, Strauss (1978) explains, is because they want to make "things work" or to make them "continue to work" (p. 11).

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, individuals can be perceived as mapping out a prospective line of action through a self-interaction process, a process in which they may note, designate, judge, assess, and evaluate a wide variety of external and internal elements which constitute their schemes of definitions and interpretations of their situation. In the interaction process, individuals can be seen as trying to fit together their prospective lines of action with the norms, values, group prescriptions, expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others. As a result of their encounters with others individuals may sometimes have to negotiate with these others in order to make things work or continue to work. The manner in which individuals will reconstruct or modify their proposed line of action will therefore depend on how they define or construe their situation combined with their emotional responses to a variety of external and internal elements.

## Linking Symbolic Interactionism to Naturalistic Methodologies

Symbolic interactionists insist that the human social world must be studied at close hand by observers who are prepared to come to grips with the "meanings" people employ in their everyday lives (Hewitt, 1979, p. 258). One of the methodological guidelines for symbolic interactionism proprosed by Blumer (1969) requires that the researcher get close enough to the respondents in order to be able to probe into their world of meanings, that is, the researcher has to try to see the situation as the actors see it; perceive objects as they perceive them, in short the investigator has to attempt to take the role of the acting individuals and see their world from their standpoint (p. 93). Seeing the world from the standpoint of the acting individuals requires methodologies and techniques whose assumptions are founded on a naturalistic paradigm of inquiry.

### Probing Into Multiple Realities.

A naturalistic paradigm of inquiry is based on assumptions which recognize the nature of reality as being made up of multiple realities which are context-bound, and that in order to understand the meaningful world of acting individuals, the researcher has to enter into a subject/subject relationship with the actors so that he can probe into their world of meanings from different vantage points.

Subject/Subject Relationship.

Entering into a subject/subject relationship means that an inquirer is directed "to take the role of the acting other to learn his perspective and to study his conduct in as many relevant situations as possible" (Denzin, 1970, p. 459). A naturalistic investigation calls upon the researcher to become a sensitive research instrument. According to Wilson (1977) becoming a sensitive research instrument means that the investigator has to be able to transcend his own perspective and become acquainted with the perspective of the participants he is studying with the aim of coming to understand their system of meanings (p. 261).

From a Meadian perspective, the ability of human beings to put themselves in someone else's place or to empathize with someone else develops or arises in the self from childhood and continues on throughout one's life through a process of assuming various roles. Our imaginary companions in childhood, our sympathetic identity with a hero or the heroine in a story or folk tale, our role playing as children are a few examples of the way human beings develop a process of role-taking and role-making (Mead, 1934, pp. 370-371). Through a process of taking roles, and through the use of vocal gestures or language and of significant symbols, individuals incorporate in their self the attitude of the other and the attitudes of the community or the generalized attitude (p. 35). Through a process of taking roles individuals come to share common meanings with others.

Mead's theory of role-taking implies that as long as the researcher and the respondents share common meanings, then it is possible for the investigator to cultivate an empathetic understanding of the subjects' definition of a situation. The researcher and the two participating teachers shared a fairly similar Western French-Canadian cultural background and, like the two participants the researcher had also taught French as a first and second language in a bilingual program in Alberta. Bruyn (1966) points out that by taking the role of the respondents the researcher can more closely create in his own imagination and experience the thoughts and feelings which are in the minds of those he studies (p. 12). Wilson (1977) recommends that when taking the role of the other the investigator must also be able to synthesize the various experiences of the subjects in order to comprehend the subtleties of their actions, thoughts, and feelings.

In an attempt to become acquainted with the French immersion situation from the two teachers' vantage point, the case study method with a limited participant observation method triangulated with techniques such as interviews and document analysis were selected. These methodological approaches and techniques were deemed to be congruent with the theoretical dictates of symbolic interactionism.

## The Case Study and The Question of Trustworthiness.

The case study was selected for the purpose of conducting an inquiry into the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying two French immersion teachers' curricular judgments, decisions, and actions as the case study allows the researcher:

a) to carry out an intensive and in-depth investigation of a person or class of persons in particular social settings (Black and

Champion, 1976, pp. 90-91); b) to record the participants' experiences from their point of view (Denzin, 1970; Helmstadter, 1970); and, d) to generate from the data gathered from different vantage points ideas, hypotheses, and insights about human conduct and actions (Helmstadter, 1970, p. 52).

Prolonged Investigation and Member Checks. Carrying out an intensive and in-depth investigation of a person or class of persons in a social setting over a prolonged period of time satisfies one of the credibility critera (adequacy or internal validity) of a naturalistic inquiry. Le Compte and Goetz (1982) and Guba (1978) suppose that by spending a prolonged period of time in a setting the researcher can test his data interpretations with the participants through members' checks. If the conceptual categories understood by the researcher are actually shared by the participants then the investigator can view his data as having credibility. The prolonged period of time spent in a setting gathering data can also assist the investigator in cross-checking any contradictions or conflicts in what the participants say and do thereby helping to overcome data distortions.

Triangulating Methods and Data Verification. The case study approach rests fundamentally on a participant observation method triangulated with other methods such as interviews and document analysis. Naturalistic investigators suggest gathering data from different vantage points by using two or more complementary methods and then triangulating or pitting against each other the data gathered from different methods and techniques in order to cross-check or verify the data findings. Guba (1978) writes that triangulation helps to minimize the effects of the researcher's "filling-in." Also, Guba adds, triangulation satisfies the credibility (internal validity) and dependability (reliability) criterion of naturalistic inquiries. Guba further advises that if similar results are found by using different methods then the case for the researcher's stability of data is strengthened.

Comparability and Transferability of Findings. Naturalist inquirers believe that it is possible that some comparability or transferability (external validity or generalizability) between two contexts is possible because of certain essential similarities between them (Guba, 1978). By collecting "thick" descriptive data (Geertz, 1973), that is data from as many sources as possible for each case study, naturalists can use this "thick" descriptive data for making comparisons between one or more contexts in order to determine the degree of match or similarity of characteristics or categories between contexts and the uniqueness for each case study (Guba, 1978).

The position taken by naturalists is that as studies occur in natural settings which often undergo changes it is quite possible that unique and idiosyncratic situations may arise in settings which can never be completely reconstructed. Le Compte and Goetz (1982) recognize that sometimes "even the most exact replication of research method may fail to produce identical results." They add that regardless of the methods and research designs employed, "because behavior is never static, no study can be replicated exactly"

(p. 35). The most naturalistic inquirers can hope for is an approximation of the replication of their study.

Blumer's (1969) methodological guidelines for symbolic interactionism and Guba's (1978) critera for assessing naturalistic studies provided the researcher with a framework for selecting methodologies and techniques for probing into two French immersion teachers' world of meanings. Furthermore, the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism also provided the author of this study with a set of sensitizing concepts for making sense out of the data generated during the research project. The remainder of this Chapter outlines in more detail the procedures followed and the methods and techniques used in order to probe into the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying two French immersion teachers' knowledge selection and organization.

## PROCEDURES, METHODS, TECHNIQUES, AND DATA ANALYSIS.

### Finding Volunteers

The procedures which I followed in order to find volunteer participants for the case study are as follows: Shortly before the first operational school day of the school year 1980-1981, I telephoned the Supervisor of French instruction of a major school board in the greater Edmonton, Alberta region. The purpose and intent of the research project was briefly explained to the Supervisor. The Supervisor indicated an interest in the project and offered to prepare a list of the grade 1 and grade 2 French immersion teachers in his school jurisdiction whom he believed might be possible research participants. He specified that he would not include in his list first year teachers. Several days later the Supervisor personnally gave me a note containing the names of four grade 1 and four grade 2 teachers, the names of the schools where they taught, and their school's telephone number. He then advised me that he had already spoken to the eight teachers about the project and assured me that I had his permission to contact them by telephone. Given the limited number of early French immersion teachers in the greater Edmonton region at that time, I was quite pleased to have the names of eight teachers whom I could contact.

On the first operational school day I proceeded to telephone the eight teachers. Diener and Crandall (1978), and Levine (1975a) have developed procedural steps for obtaining informed consent from possible volunteer participants. They recommend, for example: advising possible participants how they were selected (Diener and Crandall); describing to them the overall purpose of the reseach and the role they will play (Levine); explaining to them the procedures to be followed and the time required for the project (Levine); informing them that the research is voluntary and that they have the right to withdraw at any time (Diener and Crandall; Levine); and, assuring them that both anonymity and confidentiality will be guaranteed if they volunteer to participate in the research (Diener and Crandall). These procedural steps guided the gist of my telephone conversation with the eight teachers.

My telephone conversation with the eights teachers, which was conducted in French, took the following form: I began by introducing myself to the teachers and told them that their Supervisor of French instruction had submitted their name to me. The teachers acknowledged that their Supervisor had already contacted them regarding the project. I then informed them that I had a research project to do for the purpose of a doctoral dissertation and wondered if they would be interested in participating in a case study which addressed the question of how French immersion teachers selected and organized social studies knowledge for children who are in the process of learning French as a second language. I further explained to the teachers that I wanted to explore over a period of time, that is, between September and April, their perceptions of social studies teaching in French immersion and that during that period of time my intention was to interview them at their convenience, observe them teach certain social studies classes, observe them as they planned their social studies units or lessons, and examine the resource materials they proposed to use and used for teaching their social studies. I stated that the purpose of the classroom observations would be to allow me to become acquainted with their students and the classroom setting so that when they would talk to me about their students or any aspect of their classroom then it would be easier for me to form a mental picture of their situation. I emphasized that it was not my intention to interfere in any way with their classroom teaching and that if they preferred, any classroom observations or interviews could be pre-arranged with them. I proposed at least one or two weekly interviews and possibly one weekly classroom observation. I also explained to them that I wanted to build into the research project a verification process of the data gathered. I informed them that I would give them a typed copy of the interview transcripts and of the on-going data analysis so that they could check the accuracy of my interpretations of their situation. I further explained that if they volunteered to participate in the project and that if at any time during the project they felt they wanted to withdraw, then they had the right to do so. I also advised them that in order to guarantee the confidentiality of the research findings that their name, the name of their school and of their school board would not appear in the doctoral dissertation. Instead, I told them that I would use pseudonyms.

Out of the eight teachers contacted by telephone, five of them were very receptive to the idea of the research project but each one declined from participating for reasons such as: a heavy teaching load; their involvement in testing pilot units during the school year; their involvement in receiving student teachers in their classrooms; their involvement in teaching night classes to adults or because they were taking a university credit course in the evening, or a combination of these factors. Two of these five teachers invited me to come in and observe a few classes during the year if I felt that such observations could be useful or helpful.

A grade 2 teacher said that she was interested in the project but asked if she could call me back in a few days as she wanted to check her teaching schedule and work-load for the year before making a decision. Two days later she called me back advising me that because of a strenuous work-load she would be unable to participate in the project.

Volunteers' Acceptance.

Two out of the remaining eight teachers displayed an immediate interest in volunteering to participate in the project. Diener and Crandall (1978) state that subjects choose to participate in research for many reasons such as intellectual curiousity, the advancement of science, and for a variety of other personal reasons (p. 49). During our telephone conversation the grade 1 teacher, hereinafter referred to as France, stated that she would enjoy being a participant in the project as she liked to get involved in research projects. She added that she was a very informal type of teacher who did not mind having someone in her class. She informed me that she had 32 students in her social studies class. She described her students as coming from anglophone homes and advised that all of her students, with the exception of six, had attended a French kindergarten the previous year. Before the telephone conversation ended France stated that it was not necessary for us to meet until formal permission had been received from her school board and her school principal. She assured me again that she was looking forward to participating in the project. I thanked her for volunteering to participate in the project and told her that I was looking forward to meeting her and sharing with her a research experience.

A grade 2 teacher, hereinafter referred to as Marie in this study, also expressed an interest in participating in the project but she advised me that before committing herself she wanted to meet with me for lunch the following week at her school. She described herself as the type of person who liked to know exactly what she was getting herself into before making any commitment. She advised me that she wanted more details about the amount of time she would have to devote to the project. I thanked her for her interest in the project and informed her that I was looking forward to our meeting.

The following week I had lunch with Marie at her school. At the beginning of the meeting she wanted me to clarify the amount of time she would be required to participate in the research project. She told me that she taught social studies on Tuesday and Thursday mornings from 10:30 to 11:37 a.m. and she suggested that classroom observations could take place on Thursday mornings. Because of her extra-curricular involvements at lunch-time on Thursdays and on certain other days she told me that we could meet for interviews on Wednesdays during lunch-hour. The grade 2 teacher emphasized that because of her busy schedule she would prefer that during the project that we maintain a pre-arranged schedule. After discussing with Marie the question of time she asked for a further clarification as to the purpose and intent of the project and my expectations of her role in the project. I basically repeated what I had told her during our previous telephone conversation. In addition I informed her that it was not my intention to impose my definitions of social studies upon her. I went into more detail explaining the data verification process. I also told Marie that I believed that we had much to learn from practicing teachers about what it is like to teach social studies to students who are in the process of acquiring French as a second language. Once again during our conversation I reiterated that if at any time she wished to withdraw from the project that she would be free to do so. Her response was that it would be a pity if such a thing were to happen to my project. She then confirmed that she was personally interested in the project and that she was looking forward to the opportunity to talk to someone who would be willing to listen to her ideas and points of view as she advised me that she sometimes felt quite alone after teaching for so many years. During the meeting the grade 2 teacher made me promise that I would give her a copy of the dissertation when ready.

Other points addressed during my meeting with Marie, the grade 2 volunteer participant included: a) discussing how she would react if her students began asking me questions or sought my assistance during classroom observations. Marie responded that her students were used to having people coming into the classroom and that if her students interacted with me that it would not disturb her; b) clarifying that if she ever felt that my questions or my responses were judgmental during an interview that she should not hesitate to point this out to me; c) discussing the procedures to be followed during an interview. For example, Marie wanted to know if she would have to initiate a topic or if I would be asking her questions. I replied that I would prefer that she initiated topics of importance to her but that sometimes I probably would want to ask her questions in order to: generate more information from her on a topic; get her to clarify a topic; get her to react to a classroom event or happening; get her to talk in more depth about her goals and the possible teaching strategies and resource materials she planned on using when planning a social studies unit or lesson; and, to get her to describe in more depth certain issues or problems related to social studies teaching in a French immersion context which she may have raised during a previous interview; and, d) the procedures we would follow once I had received the formal approval from her school board and school principal to conduct the study. Before the meeting ended I thanked Marie for her willingness to participate in the project.

### Gaining Entry.

Diener and Crandall (1978) suggest that where subjects are in schools it is usually necessary to obtain permission for the study from the organization (p. 47). A "Cooperative Activities Program" form was obtained from the University of Alberta's Field Experience Office, completed, and sent by Field Services for approval to a school board in the greater Edmonton, Alberta region. A letter dated September 29, 1980 was received by the University of Alberta's Field Office from the school board concerned. The letter stated that the research request was approved on a permissive basis following examination by their department and in consultation with their Supervisor of French instruction. The letter also stated that the principals of the two schools involved had agreed to participate in the project and that the participating teachers identified could be contacted directly by the researcher to make further arrangements for the study.

Once permission was received to conduct research, I contacted the principals from the two schools involved by telephone. The procedures to be followed for gaining entry into their school were clarified. Both principals gave their go ahead for the project and told me to make my arrangements with the teachers. One principal wanted to know if the students would be tested or if they would be used as research subjects. I explained that the study focused on the teachers' only and that I did not intend to disturb the students during classroom observations.

On October 7, 1980 I contacted both volunteer participants by telephone and advised them that formal permission had been received from their school board and school principals to conduct the study. Meetings were then arranged with both teachers in order to commence the study.

### First Formal Meeting With the Teachers.

Grade 1 Teacher. The first face-to-face meeting with France, the grade 1 teacher, took place on October 9, 1980. Greetings were cordial and she invited me to sit at a small table located at the back of her class. She then inquired if she could eat her lunch while we talked and asked me where I would like her to begin. I suggested that as she had accepted to volunteer over the telephone that maybe she would like me to clarify for her questions about the project. She responded that the purpose and intent of the project were made quite clear to her over the telephone. I once again re-emphasized the nature of the project and advised her that she was free to withdraw from the project at any time.

A schedule was drawn up for classroom observations and interviews. Once the question of scheduling had been settled we discussed the procedures for verifying the interview notes. The conversation then focused on the importance for the study of my recording accurate information of her definitions and interpretations of teaching social studies in a French immersion situation. Feeling at ease at this point with the grade 1 teacher I asked her if she would have any objections to notes being taken during future interviews. She had no objections. I then asked her if at the same time a small pocket sized recording device could also be used as I wanted to assure myself of the accuracy of my note-taking. She replied that the use of a small recording device would not bother her in any way. Before leaving I once again thanked her for having accepted to participate in the project.

Grade 2 Teacher. On October 8, 1980 I met the grade 2 teacher during the lunch hour. The first formal meeting was held in her school's staffroom. For this particular meeting Marie had brought with her an armful of resource materials and units she used for teaching her social studies.

During the meeting I grew exhausted trying to follow the conversation while attempting to take down a combination of shorthand and longhand notes. Near the end of our meeting I asked Marie if she would have any objections to my eventually using a small cassette for recording our interviews. I explained to her that I was afraid to miss out on some of the interesting information she was generating. She agreed that a small cassette recorder could be an asset to the project and suggested that at our next meeting we could meet in the French resource room for lunch as the resource room would be a more quiet and confidential place to meet. We could not meet in her classroom as the students used her room as a lunchroom. The remainder of the meeting was spent discussing the procedures she wanted me to follow before dropping in on Thursday morning for a classroom observation. She asked me to give her 10 - 15 minutes with the students once they returned from recess and then to just walk into her class without knocking. She stated that she felt confident that the students would quickly become accustomed to my coming in for observations.

Research Schedule. Once a grade 1 and a grade 2 teacher volunteered to participate in the project and they appeared to be committed to the project I decided to not seek any further participants for the case study because the pre-arranged schedule for classroom observations and interviews with the two teachers, who taught in schools at opposite ends of the greater Edmonton region, would take up most of my time during a week. I also foresaw the need for some time between interviews and classroom observations in order to trancribe my notes and to carry on an on-going data analysis. Furthermore, as a sessional lecturer at Faculty Saint-Jean, The University of Alberta, I had to leave some time for my teaching and course preparation.

My schedule during the research project for classroom observations and interviews was as follows:

Monday afternoon: Grade 1 classroom observation and possible interview with grade 1 teacher after school.

Tuesday noon: Possible interview with grade 1 teacher.

Wednesday noon: Possible interview with grade 2 teacher.

Thursday morning: Grade 2 classroom observation.

Friday afternoon: Possible grade 1 classroom observation.

## Limited Participant Observation and Document Examination

Participant observation, Denzin (1970) points out, is one of the few methods currently available to researchers concerned with studying complex forms of symbolic interaction (p. 462). Wilson (1977) suggests that one of the most important ideas to keep in mind behind participant observation is that there is no one right method. What Wilson does suggest though, is that the method selected by a researcher should match the study and that the methods and techniques selected should be coordinated with each other into a research design that could elicit information not accessible to a researcher using more quantitative techniques (p. 260).

Wolcott (1976) explains that as there are few formal roles a reseacher can take in schools, a researcher has to resign himself to simply becoming more of an observer than a participant (p. 37). According to Zigarmi and Zigarmi (1980) there is no such thing as a non-participant but rather there is a continuum ranging from minimum research influence or effect on the on-going course of events and a maximum of influence by the researcher (p. 21). For the purpose of this study I elected to take a limited participant observer's role.

Even though my intention was to take a limited participant observer's role during classroom observations, because of the unfolding events I was never sure of how my presence might possibly affect the situation. In order to keep my intrusion in the classroom setting to a minimum during classroom observations I took care to enter quietly into the classroom and sit in a corner or at the back of the room where I was not directly facing the students. As a result, my presence during classroom observations was almost virtually ignored by most students. On certain occasions students would glance in my direction or would seek my attention. When such events occurred I would turn my gaze away from the student in order to avoid eye contact and I would busy myself by taking down notes. On a few occasions either a grade 1 or a grade 2 student would come toward me to chat or would sit next to me on a little chair in order to talk about themselves or to show me their art work, their toys, or their classroom work. Sometimes students would ask me how to say or write a word in French. On other occasions some students would ask me to help them tie their shoe laces, or boots, or help them with their zipper, or fix something for them. When such situations occurred I could not help but acknowledge the presence of such enjoyable students, but I always made a point of trying to politely divert their attention to the on-going classroom activities, and I would encourage them to return to their desk. On a few occasions when either the grade 1 or the grade 2 teacher was called out of the classroom for a few minutes I was left to indirectly supervise the students. I tried to remain in my inconspicuous position until the students turned to me for assistance. If I noted that some students were beginning to drift away from their assigned tasks and started to disrupt others then I would walk up and down between the rows of desks for the purpose of assuring the students' well-being or to assist them with a task. As I walked between the rows of desks students would show me their work and I would compliment them by saying: "Oh! C'est beau!"

I also noted during certain classroom observations that the teachers would interact with me as they taught their lesson. For example, they would draw my attention to an incident or resource materials, or they would express an emotional reaction to an unusual happening, or they would point out something which they wanted to explain to me. Sometimes they would refer to a subject they had talked about during a previous interview and would indicate that the unfolding event which was taking place was an example of what they were talking about earlier. When the teachers addressed me during their classroom teaching I would acknowledge their presence, or their statement, or would shake my head in agreement, but I took care not to begin a conversation which could disrupt their classroom teaching.

### Classroom Observation Time.

At the grade 1 level it was possible to observe five social studies lessons for a total of 420 minutes of observation time whereas at the grade 2 level seventeen social studies lessons were observed for a total of 843 minutes of observation time. Because of the unexpected circumstances surrounding the grade 1 teacher's situation (the grade 1 teacher left her teaching position at the end of January because of pregnancy and actually stopped teaching social studies in December as she did not wish to begin a new unit prior to leaving her position), less time was spent observing grade 1 classes than grade 2 classes. Also, the grade 1 teacher cancelled several pre-arranged classroom observations because of health problems and professional development days. Both teachers discontinued teaching social studies in mid-December for Christmas activities. The five classroom observations at the grade 1 level took place on October 20; November 3, 17; December 1, 8, 1980. The seventeen classroom observations at the grade 2 level took place on October 16, 23, and 30; November 6, 13, and 20, 1980; January 15, 22, and 29; Feburary 8, 19; March 5, 12, 19, 24; and, April 9, 16, 1981. The grade 2 classroom observation which took place on April 16, 1981 was the last observation as the grade 2 teacher discontinued teaching social studies in order to prepare her students for the school board standardized tests in language arts and mathematics.

### Classroom Observation Field Notes and Document Examination.

During classroom observations I generally felt bombarded with a rich array of endless symbolic, verbal and non-verbal happenings, all of which seemed important. I tried to note down in both shorthand and longhand verbal interactions and patterns of behavior or routines followed by the teachers. Spradley (1979) recommends condensing accounts during the observations and expanding on these accounts as soon as possible after classroom observations (p. 75). My field notes were transcribed in typewritten form either the same day or the day following the classroom observations. The shorthand, longhand, and words and cues used in my field notes were fresh enough in my mind so that when typing out a transcript I was able to fill-in certain details which had not been recorded in my field notes. In typing out the transcripts, I attempted to record the classroom flow of events in their logical sequence. The typed trancripts, which were then chronologically filed in separate files for each teacher, became primary data sources for the purpose of carrying out an on-going analysis during the study and after the project was completed.

My transcribed field notes contained information such as: the name of the teacher observed; the date and time of the observation; how I entered the classroom and the teacher and students' reactions to my presence; where I sat in the classroom in order to minimize my presence; what the teacher was doing; what resources such as activity sheets, books, songs, etc. the teacher was using including how she used these resources; if the teacher was using a film or an overhead projector, or any other kind of technological materials and how she was using this technology; the questions the teacher asked her students and the students' responses (I was able to record a major portion of the dialogues in shorthand, but sometimes I was unable to hear what certain students said because of their weak voices); the language of communication between students as they interacted; how certain students behaved and how the teacher responded towarded certain kinds of student behaviors; descriptions of the types of displays I could see in the classroom and notes as to where these displays were situated and if the displays appeared to have been made by the students or the teacher; notes of how the display materials seemed to be related to the classroom lesson; and, I even noted any distractions such as buzzers, announcements on the intercom system, visitors to the classroom, and what happened when the fire-alarm was sounded. (An example of a classroom observation transcript can be found in Appendix "A").

Patterns of teacher actions were also identified in the field notes whenever possible. For example, I noted that the grade 1 teacher generally began her social studies class with an activity called "le partage" and that the grade 2 teacher would usually have a short lesson segment in which she invited the students to sit in a semi-circle on the floor while she sat on a small chair facing them. In addition, as the project progressed, I would note besides my observation notes recollections of teachers' explanations during an interview as to how they planned to teach certain vocabulary, or the strategies they had talked about using, or the resources they had mentioned that they would use. These notations provided me with a system for cross-checking the congruency between the teachers' descriptions and explanations during interviews of their proposed lines of action for social studies teaching and how they actually taught a social studies lesson.

The field notes from five classroom observations at the grade 1 level totalling 420 minutes of observation time were transcribed into 21 single and double spaced typed 8 1/2 x 11 inch pages whereas the field notes from 17 classroom observations at the grade 2 level totalling 843 minutes of observation time were transcribed into 70 single and double spaced typed pages.

The classroom observations provided me with a rich and varied source of data on the teachers' interaction with students and their social studies curriculum. This data source assisted me in the following manner: a) in attempting to see the students encountered by the teachers in the classroom setting from their point of view; b) in empathizing with the meanings the teachers attributed to their situation; c) in cross-checking the validity of the teachers' definitions and interpretations over a period of time; and, d) to seek patterns of relationships between what the teachers said they would do when planning a prospective line of action for social studies teaching and what the teachers actually did in class when teaching social studies.

## Interviews and Document Examination

Interviewing, Pohland (1972) writes, complements observing and provides an evidential base which closely approximates the respondent's reality (p. 12). Interviews and document analysis were triangulated with a limited participant observation method during the project. The interviewing technique used in this study which seemed to be consistent with the dictates of symbolic interactionists who recommend that the researcher must let people tell their own stories in their own words (Hewitt, 1979, p. 260; Blumer, 1969) was the unstructured interview. The unstructured interview, Li (1981) explains, allows respondents to develop their own topics and responses and can be very effective for gathering rich and in-depth data and for gaining insights about the participants (pp. 45-46). The questionning techniques suggested by Li for conducting an unstructured interview such as general questions, questions based on previous answers or statements and leading questions were used during my interviews with the teachers (pp. 45-51). Also during the interviews when the teachers made available resource materials they planned on using for teaching social studies, these resources were examined.

## The Interview Routine.

An interview routine was established with the two teachers and maintained during the project. The interviews with the grade 1 teacher took place in her classroom, usually after a classroom observation. Once the students had left for the day France would come and sit down on a little chair across from me at the corner of a little table situated at the back of the classroom. She would generally push aside a stack of papers from the corner of the table so that I could place a small cassette recorder between us. We exchanged friendly greetings and talked about a variety of generalities thereby creating a relaxed atmosphere. When France began to talk about her teaching situation I would turn on the cassette recorder and jot down a few notes in shorthand and longhand. Prior to an interview with the grade 2 teacher, I would meet her in the staffroom. We exchanged friendly greetings and I would wait for her to heat up her lunch and make a pot of tea. We would then proceed to the French resource room where we sat opposite each other on medium sized student desks. The small cassette recorder was placed between us. As Marie had lunch, she would begin to talk about her teaching situation.

The interviews with both teachers were conducted in French. On a few occasions the grade 1 and the grade 2 teachers used English sentences or phrases in order to stress a point. On the average, the interviews lasted no more than 30 minutes. Both teachers expressed that they appreciated the half an hour interview limit as they found that sharing their definitions and interpretations of social studies teaching was an intense experience, especially when they initiated topics themselves.

At the beginning of most interviews the teachers would initiate a topic of importance to them. They would generally begin by describing and explaining how they proposed to teach a particular aspect of a social studies unit or a lesson or they would start talking about the outcome of a social studies lesson or a part of a unit they had introduced in class. When I noticed that the teachers appeared to have exhausted a topic I would ask them either a general question, a question based on previous answers or statements, or a leading question.

General Questions. When necesary during an interview I would use general questions. According to Li (1981) general questions are aimed at leaving the respondents free to develop their own thoughts and to express their views on a subject. At the beginning of an interview, if I encountered a situation when the teachers did not initiate a topic then I would make a descriptive statement about some aspect of a social studies lesson observed, (I had noted during a grade 2 classroom observation that Marie had the students sing songs so I asked her at the beginning of the February 5, 1981 interview if the students liked to sing, "Ils aiment bien ça les chansons?"); or I would ask them if the lesson observed was part of such and such a unit they had previously talked about covering in class (during a grade 1 classroom observation on December 1, 1980 I noted that the students were involved in making large white paper snowflakes and I wanted to test if this particular activity formed part of the Christmas unit, "Comme ça, vous vous préparez pour Noël?"). Such general questions usually resulted in the teachers beginning to talk about an aspect of their lesson which they considered to be important to them.

Questions Based on Previous Statements. The majority of the questions asked during interviews were questions based on the teachers' previous answers or statements which they had initiated during prior interviews. Questions based on previous answers, Li (1981) states, give the researcher an opportunity to piece together a "story" from different kinds of clues or to carry out an in-depth investigation of a topic (p. 48). Brandt (1972) explains that if the investigator can piece together an off-guard comment made yesterday with a casual remark made today, all on the same topic, then greater consistency and reliability of expressions can be determined.

Questions based on previous answers were often used in order to get the teachers to clarify an idea or statement expressed by them earlier. For example, the grade 1 teacher had, on different occasions talked about the importance of a teaching strategy called "le partage." In early December, when she had told me that during the parent-teacher interviews that a few parents questionned the usefulness of "le partage" for second language development I wanted to check with her to see if she still felt that the students liked participating in this activity. My question was the following: "Ils aiment encore ça faire le partage?" She replied that they never get tired of this sharing activity, confirming her earlier statements of the importance of "le partage" for developing students' social and communication skills.

Questions based on previous answers were also useful for probing in more depth a topic originally initiated by the teachers and for testing my interpretations of the teachers' definitions of the situation. For example, during a meeting with the grade 2 teacher she had talked about one of the limitations of teaching students with a limited knowledge of French. She said that she was concerned that she was imposing her adult ideas upon the students when she filled-in an answer for them. In order to test the accuracy of my interpretations and to gather more information on the subject I asked her to elaborate on her concerns, ("Et puis tu n'es pas certaine qu'elles idées qu'ils avaient quand ils t'ont donné le mot. C'est ça qui t'inquiète un peu?"). In response, she acknowledged my interpretation by repeating what she had told me earlier and then without my having to ask her any further questions she went on to describe in more depth why she felt she was imposing her adult interpretations upon her students' meanings when she filled-in for them.

Leading Questions. According to Li (1981), leading questions are used when an interviewer wants to direct the respondent to another topic or experience (p. 48). During the research project leading questions were used in order to obtain background information on the teachers. For example, I asked the teachers questions such as how long they had taught French immersion, "Ca fait combien d'années que tu as des immersions?", where they had taken their teacher training, "Est-ce que toi tu avais pris tes cours de formation en Alberta?", and questions about their early recollections of second language learning, "Est-ce que tu te souviens comment c'était pour toi d'apprendre l'anglais?" I also used leading questions in order to probe into the teachers' conceptions of second language teaching and learning. For example, I had noted during classroom observations that when the grade 2 teacher taught her students songs, or read them stories that she either had them use gestures or she herself used gestures. During the February 8, 1981 interview I asked the grade 2 teacher about her conception of the role of using gestures in second language development, "Alors, le geste devient très important pour apprendre la langue?" She then went on to explain how gestures help students to acquire language in a meaningful way. As the project evolved and an on-going analysis was carried out I found the need to ask the teachers more leading questions than at the beginning of the project as the leading questions assisted me in: a) filling-in missing data in order to obtain more information on a topic previously initiated by the teachers; b) cross-checking the consistency over a period of time of the teachers' definitions and interpretations of their situation; and, c) testing the consistency between what the teachers said as they planned a line of action for social studies teaching and what they actually did when teaching social studies.

During the 12 formal interviews with the grade 1 teacher I asked her a total of approximately 182 questions of the various types and during the 10 formal interviews with the grade 2 teacher I asked her a total of approximately 100 questions of the various types. The usage of general types of questions during the interview assisted me in my attempt to allow the teachers to describe their situation from their own point of view rather than my imposing my definitions as a researcher upon them. During the last formal interview, the grade 2 teacher told me that if I would have asked her structured questions at the beginning of the project then she probably would have formulated her ideas in order to try and answer my questions rather than initiate topics from her point of view.

Time Spent Interviewing Teachers. At the beginning of the research project a schedule for interviews was set up with the two teachers. We agreed to meet for the purpose of an interview at least once a week. Several unpredictable events took place during the project's duration which resulted in the cancellation by the teachers of certain pre-arranged meetings.

I met with the grade 1 teacher on 12 occasions during the project for a total of 370 minutes of formal interview time. An additional 90 minutes of informal conversations took place with France either in the staffroom or school hallways. We also spent a small amount of time chatting on the telephone. The first formal interview with the grade 1 teacher took place on October 9, 1980. We then met weekly, namely: October 14, 20, and 28. The grade 1 teacher had to cancel meetings in early November because of school activities and professional development days. We then met on

November 17, 1980. Further November meetings were cancelled by the grade 1 teacher because she developed back problems which either kept her away from school or required her to undergo therapy after school. We met again on December 1 and 8. Because of Christmas activities the grade 1 teacher cancelled the remaining December meetings. At the beginning of the New Year the grade 1 teacher again experienced health problems and we were unable to meet until mid-January. We then met on January 16, 21, and 29, 1981. France left her teaching position at the end of January because of pregnancy and a follow-up meeting took place at my office on February 25, 1981. After the birth of her baby girl I had the pleasure of meeting with both mother and daughter on two separate occasions for half a day, once during the summer, and in the late fall.

I met formally with the grade 2 teacher on 10 occasions for a total of 287 minutes of interview time. Several informal conversations took place in between our various formal meetings either before or after a classroom observation for a total of approximately 120 minutes of conversation time. The first formal meeting with the grade 2 teacher took place on October 8, 1980. We met again on October 15, 22, and November 5. The next formal interview did not take place until January 22, 1981 for the following reasons: In early November Marie advised me that she had a health problem which she attributed to pressures and tensions arising from the school and home situation. She spent some time away from school. After a classroom observation in November she told me that the doctor had given her muscle relaxants and other medication so that she could try and cope with her teaching. Being the school's only music teacher, in December Marie became involved in preparing students at lunch-time for the school's Christmas concert and she had to cancel some of our pre-arranged meetings. Furthermore, the grade 2 teacher discontinued teaching social studies in early December in order to involve her students in Christmas activities. The next formal meeting with the grade 2 teacher took place on February 5, 1981. In January Marie had to cancel a series of our lunch-hour meetings because of her involvement with a group of teachers in the planning of the school's Carnaval activities. Two meetings were cancelled in February because of the Convention and Marie's involvement in a professional association. The remaining formal meetings with the grade 2 teacher took place on March 12, 22, April 9 and 16, 1981. The project was terminated by Marie at the end of April as she discontinued teaching social studies in order to prepare her students for the school board standardized tests. Once the project was terminated we met for lunch on two different occasions.

The cancelled meetings did not result from the two teachers' lack of commitment to the project but rather because of unforseen circumstances. When both teachers experienced health problems and had to cancel several interviews in the fall I began to worry about not being able to collect the data necessary to make the project viable. Aware that I was dealing with two sincere persons the last thing I wanted to do was to impose upon them conditions which might have been detrimental to their well-being. I would therefore tell them when they telephoned me not to worry about the project as I was confident that once their health improved or when their school projects were finished that we could resume our meetings.

### Interview Field Notes and Member Checks.

At the beginning of the research project I discussed with the two teachers the importance of keeping accurate records of their definitions and interpretations of their situation. We also talked about establishing a data verification procedure or member checks. The two teachers had been very receptive to the use of a small cassette recorder during interviews. As a matter of precaution I also took down a combination of longhand and shorthand notes on the key topics or ideas addressed by the teachers, and I noted any relevant non-verbal gestures of the teachers' reactions. I also noted down my observations of the resource materials which the teachers brought with them for our meeting. On only one occasion did the small cassette recorder give me any problems. Halfway through an interview with the grade 2 teacher the tape jammed. I had to take down more field notes than usual during the remainder of the interview.

The interview cassette tapes and my field notes were transcribed either the same evening following an interview or the following day. The interview notes were typed out as I listened to the tapes, and I compared my shorthand and longhand field notes with the tapes. It would take me an evening or a morning to transcribe and type out the narrative data from a 30 minute tape.

The verbatim interview notes were typed out in duplicate on the left hand side of an 11 inch wide sheet of paper. The 12 formal interviews, or the 370 minutes of interview time with the grade 1 teacher amounted to 84 typewritten pages of data. The 10 interviews, or the 287 minutes of interview time with the grade 2 teacher amounted to 109 typewritten pages of data. The noticeable difference between interview time and number of typewritten pages of data for the grade 2 teacher as compared to the grade 1 teacher can be attributed to the grade 2 teacher's faster pace of speech.

The teacher's name, the date of the interview and its duration were typed at the top of the page of the interview transcripts. The right-hand side of the sheet contained columns headed: "D'ACCORD" and "CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES" which allowed teachers during member checks to place a mark beside the statements which they acknowledged as being accurate statements of what they had said during an interview, and to add information to the text, or to clarify their statements, or to correct my data interpretations. Le Compte and Goetz (1982), and Guba (1978) recommend doing member checks of the data as member checks allow the investigator to check if his conceptual categories generated from the data are shared by the participants. Once the interview transcripts had been typed out, the original transcripts were given to the teachers as soon as possible so that they could verify the accuracy of the statements and interpretations.

The teachers would generally return the verified interview transcripts to me either before or after a classroom observation or during an interview. The teachers made only minor changes to the original transcripts. For example, in some places they added one or two sentences to clarify a point they had made, or they added a sentence or phrase providing further information on a topic. The two teachers stated that they were pleased with the accuracy of the interview transcripts. They both acknowledged the usefulness of a cassette recorder for a project such as the one they were participating in. The grade 2 teacher told me that she was glad that the recording device had failed us on only one occasion as she found that she had to make several major additions to the transcript which I had attempted to recreate from my field notes and memory when the cassette tape jammed. The member checks of the interview interpretations sometimes resulted in the teachers generating further information on a topic they had raised during a previous interview. Also during a follow-up interview I was able to refer the teachers back to a point raised by them in a previous interview and ask them to further clarify their statements or point of view.

The verified transcripts, when returned to me by the teachers, were filed in a chronological order, with a separate file being kept for each teacher. Spradley (1979) maintains that when fully transcribed, tape-recorded interviews represent one of the most complete expanded accounts of the respondents' meanings (p. 75). The validated transcripts provided me with a rich and reliable data source for generating and testing emerging insights, hypotheses, concepts, and ideas throughout the project and for identifying commonalites and differences between the grade 1 and the grade 2 teachers' contexts and definitions of their situation. (See Appendix "B" for an example of a verified interview transcript.)

## Researcher and Respondents' Changing Situation.

Symbolic interactionists insist that the researcher must take the role of the respondent during an interview but that at the same time the researcher is also expected to be able to view the respondent's actions from the perspective of an analyst who constantly evaluates the respondent's answers, makes decisions with regard to the direction of the interview, and draws tentative conclusions in the process of interviewing (Li, 1981, p. 46). Playing such a dual role sometimes became a complex human endeavour for me as the participants seemed to have their own expectations of my role as a researcher.

When I first met with the two teachers in October they were quite open and willing to share with me their views, ideas, and concerns about teaching social studies in French immersion. They were enthusiastic and excited about the school year and talked about all the interesting things they wanted to do in social studies. By the end of November I noticed that the two teachers were not as enthusiastic about their teaching. They were beginning to express feelings of frustration about certain aspects of teaching in a French immersion situation and they also began to experience health problems.

I often felt during certain interviews that the teachers viewed me more like a confidant or a trusted listener. I also got the impression that they were looking for moral support or encouragement. Sometimes a smile, a nod, or just empathizing with them about their situation was all that was necessary. I noted telling the grade 2 teacher that if I was in her situation that I too would be frustrated. The two teachers would sometimes indirectly seek my assistance in helping them to solve some of their curricular problems. The grade 2 teacher, for example, had asked me if I had noticed that her students were frustrated when they could not say something in French. Wanting to refrain from being judgmental I responded that during my classroom observations I was not looking to see if the students were frustrated but rather I was focusing on how the students responded in French when she asked them questions. On a few occasions when the teachers were having problems finding certain social studies resource materials they asked me if I knew where they could locate these materials. I probably could have helped them but I refrained from interfering in the normal flow of events which constituted their situation.

## GENERATING INSIGHTS, HYPOTHESES, AND IDEAS FROM THE DATA

The empirical social world is the central point of concern to symbolic interactionists as it is the testing ground for any assertions made about what human beings experience and do as they engage in their complexes of interlaced activities (Blumer, 1969, p. 35). Blumer warned that the empirical social world has an obdurate character and that the investigator should not let his premises and concepts control the inquiry or shape the picture of the sphere of life under study (pp. 32-46). Paying heed to Blumer's words, the analytical framework for data analysis for this study was developed and refined through a process of discovering, generating and verifying concepts, insights, ideas or hypothesis from the emerging data on an on-going basis.

The theoretical ideas of symbolic interactionists provided me with a general sense of reference and guidance for examining the sphere of life under study and for identifying from the emerging data analytical elements which seemed to be representative of two teachers' world of meanings. Originally six analytical concepts--typifications, probability, causality, means and ends, normative standards, and substantive congruency--drawn from the work of Hewitt (1979) on the forms of knowledge underlying the processes of role-making and role-taking were used as sensitizing concepts for probing into the teachers' "world of meanings." According to Blumer (1969), "sensitizing concepts" suggest directions along which to look rather than providing the investigator with prescriptions of what to see (p. 148).

Hewitt's six concepts were useful analytical tools for beginning to generate insights into the relationships between teachers' curricular judgments, decisions, and actions but it was found that these concepts, if used by themselves for the purpose of data analysis, would not have allowed me to describe and explain the various external and internal elements which constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying their social studies knowledge selection and organization, nor would these concepts have shed enough light on how teachers attempt to fit together external and internal elements when planning a line of action. In order to bring the theoretical and conceptual framework in line with the emerging insights yielded from the data a set of interactional concepts such as: the setting, the definition of the situation, biography and career, emotional responses to situations, and negotiation were gradually integrated with Hewitt's six analytical concepts to the theoretical and conceptual framework, and these concepts were constantly tested against the new emerging data.

### Field Work Notes and Data Classification and Analysis

Spradley (1979) recommends keeping a field work journal in order to record the researcher's experiences, ideas, fears, mistakes, confusions, breakthroughs and problems during a research project (p. 70). Besides keeping a set of typed classroom observation field notes and the typed verified interview transcripts for each teacher during the project I also kept a separate field work journal in which I principally noted the various concepts, ideas, hypotheses, and insights which the data seemed to yield. I also noted references to literature which provided me with certain ideas or explanations about the evolving concepts.

The field work journal also contained information such as: a record of my telephone conversation with the teachers when they cancelled meetings or classroom observations; information from my informal conversations with the teachers; the teachers' reactions to any aspect of the research project; my on-going concerns and anxieties about the project; and, my reactions to the methodological and theoretical perspective I selected for conducting the inquiry.

#### The First Classification of Data.

The classroom observation notes, the verified interview transcripts, and my field work journal were constantly referred to as

I carried out a first classification of the data. For the purpose of carrying out a first data analysis, the data collected for each teacher were classified under six broad categories of topics initiated by the teachers during interviews.

The six categories under which the data were firstly classified included the teachers' descriptions and interpretations of: (1) the French immersion program; (2) parental expectations and demands of French immersion schooling; (3) support staff and services in their respective schools; (4) their classroom social studies curriculum; (5) teacher "know-how" needed for teaching social studies in French immersion; and, (6) their classroom environment, organization and maintenance.

The data classification sheets for each teacher contained three major columns. On the left-hand side of the major classification category the data were classified under a variety of sub-headings for grouping the data. For example under the category of "Support Services" separate classification sheets were set up for such sub-categories as teachers' perceptions of the principal, consultants, teacher aides, library assistance, and the resource room. The data placed under each category and sub-category were generally verbatim statements taken from the verified interview tanscripts or my observations from my field journal notes. The dates of the relevant interview statements were listed for the purpose of cross-referencing with the original data.

A second column headed "Researcher's Observations of Actions" was set up on the right-hand side of each classification sheet.

Under this column I transferred relevant data from my classroom observations which either demonstrated the consistency or inconsistencies between what the teachers said when planning prospectives lines of action for social studies teaching during interviews and what they actually did in their classroom. For example, on October 8 and 15, 1980 during my interviews with the grade 2 teacher she talked about her plans for a unit on "L'automne." She referred to the vocabulary which she planned on developing in class and the resource materials and means she would use to help her students acquire this vocabulary, including samples of the types of questions she proposed asking her students. On October 16 and 23, 1980 I observed Marie teach parts of her unit on "L'automne" and noted the vocabulary she employed, the types of questions she asked her students during these two lessons, and the kinds of resource materials and teaching strategies she used to help students acquire the vocabulary. I was therefore able to test the validity of the grade 2 teacher's proposed plans of action against her actual actions while interacting with her students.

A third column was included on the classification sheets with the heading "Approved." The classification sheets were given to the teachers over the Christmas holidays for verification and approval of my interpretations. When the verified analysis sheets were returned to me by the teachers I indicated at the top of the classification sheets the verification date and then filed each classification sheet under its respective category in a separate three-ring binder for each teacher. The few comments made by the teachers on the classification sheets were basically to help clarify their ideas and to add information on a topic. (See Appendix "C" for an example of a first classification scheme.)

Once the project was completed I had filed 169 pages of single spaced classification sheets for the grade 1 teacher and 212 pages of single spaced classification sheets for the grade 2 teacher. These data classification sheets were then carefully scrutinized and studied and I made handwritten notes in the margins of any possible patterns, ideas, hypotheses, and insights which seemed to emerge from the data and these patterns, ideas, hypotheses, and insights were then compared between case studies. At the same time analytical concepts drawn from symbolic interactionism were tested for their descriptive and explanatory power of the data findings.

## The Second Classification of Data.

A second major classification system was devised once the project ended. The patterns of regularities, the insights, hypothesis, ideas, and concepts noted in the margins of the first data classification system were grouped together and synthesized then summarized in English and set up under different categories on separate sheets of paper. When deemed necessary for establishing the credibility of the data interpretations, verbatim statements made by the teachers during interviews or data from classroom observations were quoted in French after the English texts.

The following eight major category titles were used for organizing the data summaries and the tentative findings: (1) student background and parental expectations; (2) support services; (3) teacher background; (4) teacher role perceptions; (5) teacher perceptions of French immersion schooling; (6) classroom environment; (7) sources of knowledge for the teacher's social studies curriculum; and, (8) teacher's social studies classroom curriculum.

A few examples of the sub-categories included under each major category are as follows: Under the major category of "Student Background and Parental Expectations" sub-categories included: students' linguistic and socio-economic background; teachers' perceptions of why parents place their children in French immersion; and, parental understanding or lack of understanding of social studies and second language acquisition. Under the category of "Teacher Background" sub-categories were developed such as: the teachers' recall of their early socialization; their educational background; their recollections of teacher training and their reactions to their teacher training program; and, their teaching experiences. Under the category of "Role Perception" sub-categories were included such as: teachers' reactions to the mundaness or routine of daily classroom life; teachers' definitions of a "good" teacher; their interpretations of classroom negotiation; their typification concepts of students; their conceptions of their role as teachers of French immersion; their emotional responses to students and to student behavior; their beliefs, values, and attitudes toward their role as socialization agents; and, their reactions to a variety of external pressures, demands, and expectations. Also under this category the grade 1 teacher's reflections on her experiences as a teacher once she had left her teaching position at the end of January were included. Under the category of "Teacher's Social Studies Classroom Curriculum" the information grouped under this category included: the time spent teaching a social studies unit or theme; the relationships between teachers' proposed plans for social studies teaching and their curricular classroom interactive actions; teachers' planning procedures and processes and their criteria for selecting certain social studies objectives, goals, content, activities, strategies, resource materials; the teachers' trade-off of social studies goals for second language development goals; and, teachers' reflections and evaluation of the outcomes of their teaching.

In the process of synthesizing and classfying the data sensitizing concepts such as the setting, definition of the situation, negotiation, biography and career, emotional responses, typifications, probablity, causality, means and ends, normative standards, and substantive congruency were constantly tested against the data gathered from different vantage points. Patterns of regularities were noted as well as any inconsistencies. When inconsistencies were found I returned to the original interview transcripts and classroom observation transcripts or my field journal in order to see if I could find any explanations as to why differences might exist between the teachers' proposed plans of action and their actual teaching acts. Generally, I was able to find data of the teachers' own evaluative or reflective statements which provided an explanation as to why they never carried out their proposed plans of action. For example, the grade 1 teacher had planned to spend three weeks teaching her unit on "La maison." During a classroom observation one month later I noted that she was still teaching a topic from her house unit. In a follow-up interview to the classroom observation I found that the grade 1 teacher had talked about why her unit was taking longer to cover than she had originally anticipated.

Once the summaries were completed for each teacher, the data under each category and their pertinent sub-categories were compared across case studies. Similarities and differences were noted. A series of summary sheets for each category were then drawn up showing the comparative findings between case studies. The summary sheets of data findings from the second data classification process amounted to 201 double-spaced typed pages for the grade 1 teacher and 214 double-spaced typed pages for the grade 2 teacher, not counting the comparative data sheets.

When the data finding summaries were typed out I met with the two teachers and gave them an opportunity to examine the summaries. The teachers read a portion of the summaries and approved my interpretations. They verified certain concepts which I had perceived as emerging from the data such as negotiation, for example, as representing an aspect of their reality. I then asked each teacher if she was interested in seeing my comparative data summaries. They both expressed a great interest in reading the comparative data summaries and made comments such as how happy they were to see that another teacher also felt or thought like them or that the other teacher also experienced similar problems. They did not make any suggestions for changes to the summaries. Both teachers gave me permission to write up the findings related to their case study in my dissertation in a comparative format using pseudonyms in order to maintain their anonymity and the anonymity of their respective schools.

### A Final Analysis of the Data.

Analyzing qualitative data is a time-consuming process which seems to go hand-in-hand with a process of reflection and of hypotheses development and concept testing. A further process of analysis was undertaken once the project was completed which involved the testing and verification of the emerging hypotheses, ideas, and insights.

This third analytical process involved charting the various concepts, ideas, hypotheses, and insights on 16 x 22 inch sheets of paper. For example, when I tested and verified the hypothesis that the two teachers' major social studies goal is second language development I listed under this hypothesis all of the teachers' social studies goals and objectives for each unit they taught. As I was unable to find one example of teachers' goals and objectives which did not include second language development, I felt confident that I could verify my hypothesis. In order to further test and verify the hypothesis, a pattern of teacher decision-making which appeared to be consistent throughout the project was noted. This pattern included the following: whenever the teachers talked about their proposed plans of action they always stated that their first goal for a unit was to develop their students' vocabulary and then they talked about involving their students in social studies activities which would allow them to apply their newly acquired vocabulary. This particular pattern of teacher decision-making further confirmed the hypothesis that the two teachers' major social studies goal is second language development. The data from classroom observations which confirmed that the teachers emphasized developing their students' second language skills were included as this data further assisted me in confirming the second language development hypothesis.

An analytical or sensitizing concept drawn from the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism which seemed to have the power to explain why the teachers focused on second language development when planning and teaching their social studies was the concept of "trade-off." A list of all the possible external and internal elements which might possibly influence the teachers' decisions to trade-off social studies goals for second language development goals were then added on the chart. For example, data on parental expectations that their children will master the French language; administrations' expectations that students will achieve a high degree of proficiency in the French language; the emphasis in the school board social studies teaching units on vocabulary development; and, any other relevant information.

The process of charting out the data gathered from various vantage points in order to test and verify the various hypotheses, ideas, insights, and concepts which appeared to emerge from the data gathered was time consuming but a worthwhile activity as I could feel more confident of my data interpretations. All the pertinent data listed under an hypothesis, idea, or insight were cross-referenced either from the original transcripts, or from the first or second data classification schemes for the purpose of data retrieval when seeking examples and illustrations for the final draft of the report on the findings. In the final report, (Chapter IV of this study) several of the teachers' verbatim statements in French drawn from the original data sources have been quoted in order to lend credence to the interpretations.

## Chapter Summary.

This Chapter outlined the link between the theoretical and methodological perspective of symbolic interactionism which was selected as a naturalistic approach for carrying out a study into the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying teachers' social studies knowledge selection and organization for use in a French immersion situation. Also in this Chapter the methodological and technical steps and procedures followed for probing into teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations and curricular actions from different vantage points, and for assessing the trustworthiness of the data were set out. The steps undertaken to carry out an analysis of the data and to find the degree of transferability between case studies were also described in this Chapter including an explanation of how the emerging concepts, ideas, hypotheses, and insights were tested and verified on an on-going basis during the research project and once the project was terminated. Chapter IV which follows is the result of the methodological procedures and the analytical process described in this Chapter.

# CHAPTER IV

# PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to describe and explain the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying two teachers' knowledge selection and organization for teaching social studies in French to students in early elementary French immersion. From a symbolic interactionist perspective the process of selecting and organizing knowledge was perceived as a meaning-making activity which is handled in and modified by teachers through an interpretative process.

The central thesis of this Chapter is that teachers' social studies curricular judgments, decisions, and actions are influenced by a complex interplay of internal and external elements which they must try to fit together when planning a line of action for social studies teaching. Based on a symbolic interactionist premise, the two teachers definitions of social studies teaching in a French immersion situation have arisen in the process of interaction and negotiation. Hence, the way that they plan prospective lines of action for social studies teaching depends on how, in the self-interaction process, they see or construe the world about them and how they conceive the related attitudes of the generalized other combined with their interpretations of external demands, expectations, constraints, and the on-going activities of others. In this Chapter, symbolic interaction concepts such as: the definition of the situation; biography; career; setting; probability; typification; causality; means and ends; normative standards; substantive congruency; negotiation; and, emotional responses to situations provided the analytical framework for describing and explaining the schemes of definitions and interpretations used by two teachers of French immersion as they planned lines of action for teaching social studies in French to students who were in the process of acquiring French as a second language.

The insights, hypotheses, and ideas generated from the data are reported in this Chapter under two main headings. Under the heading, "Elements Constituting Schemes of Definitions and Interpretations," examples and illustrations are provided of the external and internal elements identified by the two teachers during the project which appear to influence their curricular judgments, decisions, and actions. Even though there are many similarities between the elements identified by the teachers which appear to influence their social studies decisions, how each teacher defined and interpreted her situation was rather unique to her context, experiences, perceptions, beliefs, assumptions, sets of meanings, knowledge, and emotional state of being. Under the heading, "Fitting Lines of Action to External and Internal Elements," examples and illustrations drawn from the data are suggestive of how a grade 1 and a grade 2 teacher of French immersion attempted to fit together their own proposed lines of action for social studies teaching to the expectations, demands, constraints, and on-going activities of others.

## ELEMENTS CONSTITUTING SCHEMES OF DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The concept, "the definition of the situation" denotes a process of self-interaction, a process of interaction, and a process of negotiation in which two teachers explored the possibilities and limitations of the French immersion situation when selecting and organizing knowledge for social studies teaching. The examples and illustrations in this section begin by suggesting: a) that the teachers' biographical and career experiences have provided them with a set of meanings and normative definitions on a wide array of subjects such as second language acquisition, child socialization, typificatory schemes of students abilities, potentials, needs, and interests, and pedagogical and subject knowledge which seem to influence their schemes of definitions and interpretations of social studies teaching in a French immersion situation; and, b) that the teachers' curricular judgments, decisions, and actions appear to be influenced or limited by an interplay of external and internal elements which include: the anglophone nature of the school setting; parental expectations and demands of French immersion; administrators' expectations and perceptions of French immersion; the teachers' perceptions of students in the English program of studies; encounters with colleagues; the lack of competent support personnel and of suitable resource materials in French; and, the formal social studies curriculum and school board social studies teaching units.

In the summary at the end of this section the insights, hypotheses, and ideas generated from the data describing the possible internal and external elements which seem to constitute two teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations are drawn together as they provide a link betweeen this section and the following section which attempts to describe and explain how the two teachers tried to fit their own prospective lines of action for social studies teaching to the external expectations, demands, and on-going activities of others.

## Teachers' Biography

France is a grade 1 teacher of French immersion at Hill Elementary School, and Marie teaches grade 2 French immersion at Sprucevale Elementary School. These two schools, which are situated in the greater Edmonton, Alberta region, are administered by the same school board. In order to protect the anonymity of the two teachers involved in the research project and to maintain the anonymity of their respective schools and its personnel, the names used in this report are pseudonyms.

France and Marie, who are both in their early thirties, married, and parents, (France was expecting a child during the research project and has since given birth to a lovely blue-eyed girl. Marie has two school aged children, a boy and a girl) are of French-Canadian backgrounds and grew up in different rural Alberta communities in families who valued the French language and culture. The two teachers both attended bilingual elementary and secondary schools in their respective communities which offered one hour of instruction in French per day with all the remaining school subjects being taught in English. Upon completing their secondary schooling France and Marie attended College Saint-Jean in Edmonton, Alberta for a period of approximately one year. From College Saint-Jean both teachers attended the University of Alberta for their professional and teacher training. They completed their Bachelor of Education degrees in the early 1970's.

Even though there are many similarities between the two teachers' linguistic, cultural, educational, professional and teacher training backgrounds, the two teachers have acquired different sets of meanings and emotional responses to situations which appear to influence, in unique ways, their schemes of definitions and interpretations of French immersion schooling, and what they perceive as being normative definitions of educational practice.

## Acquiring Normative Definitions of Second Language Learning.

The two teachers' early linguistic and educational experiences seem to have provided them with a source of knowledge or a set of meanings which they draw upon when trying to make sense out of how their students acquire French as a second language, and when selecting and organizing knowledge for the French immersion situation.

France. The grade 1 teacher's experiences at home and at school with second language learning have influenced her definitions of second language acquisition in a French immersion situation as being a normal state of affairs, and probably have influenced, to a certain degree, her decision to place a high priority on second language development when planning and organizing her classroom social studies curriculum.

France grew up in a rural community where the local population was made up of French, Ukrainien, and English-speaking families. When France has an opportunity she likes to tell her parents that if it had not been for them that she probably would not have learned French, "Je le dis encore souvent à mes parents, si ce n'était pas de vous, on n'aurait pas appris notre français."

France spoke about her recollections of how her parents insisted that their children speak and read French at home, "Il fallait parler le français." Her parents, she explained, would encourage them to use the dictionary if they did not know a word in French. Her father, she fondly remembers, would charge her and her siblings one penny per three words spoken in English, or they would have to shine shoes. She chuckles when she talks about all the pennies her brother had to pay. She attributed her brother's tendency to use English at home to peer pressure, "Peut-être qu'il sentait la pression "peer pressure." Pour lui c'était important de parler l'anglais ... Oh! Mon pauvre frère! Il en a payé des cennes!" Having to speak French at home was taken-for-granted by France and her siblings. She said that speaking French at home was a normative rule just like having to do dishes, practice the piano, or shine shoes, "On prenait ça comme un règlement de la maison, comme faire la vaisselle ou pratiquer le piano, polir les souliers."

France perceives her early experiences with first and second language learning (French and English) as a natural or a normal process. She cannot recall ever having experienced any language or communication problem as a child, "On n'a jamais eu un problème de langage ou de communication." She presumes that learning French is basically a normal state of affairs for her French immersion students, even though it may not be as natural for them as it was for her. She assumes that learning French is taken-for-granted by immersion students just like normative school rules are taken-for-granted by them. She believes that second language learning for immersion students is a question of habit. She judges that it is not a hardship for them to learn French. She supposes that students classify language in their minds just like they classify any other kinds of school learnings.

> C'est comme içi. Ca ne les ennuis pas d'apprendre une deuxième langue. C'est moins naturel pour eux que ce l'était pour moi mais ils ont l'habitude. Ils savent qu'ils viennent içi pour apprendre le français et puis ça ne les ennuis pas ... Ils vont classifier cela comme il veulent. A mesure qu'ils vont, ça se place.

France is critical of parents, school administrators and researchers who seem to make such a big issue of second language learning, "Ils en font trop une grosse chose." Some people, she added, seem to think that all sorts of negative things happen in children's minds when they learn French, "On se suppose que ça fait toutes sortes de choses dans la tête d'un enfant." According to France, second language learning does not do any negative things to children but rather opens up new horizons for them, "Moi, je pense que c'est juste une façon d'aggrandir les horizons."

On one occasion the grade 1 teacher compared her own schooling experiences in a bilingual school which offered one hour of instruction in French per day with the type of experiences her French immersion students participate in. She stated that French immersion students are fortunate as they do not have to miss out such classes as art, music, and physical education because they study French. When she went to school France was penalized from taking art and music classes, subjects which she really liked, and physical education, a subject which she did not enjoy, because these subjects were scheduled at the same time as the French class. She explained that there were no special programs for francophones when she went to school. She said that she was immersed in the English language. She once remarked during an interview that when she went to school no one cared if francophones were assimilated, "On ne s'est pas inquiété de nous quand il a fallu nous assimiler. C'est ça qu'on était dans le temps." She reported that out of the 22 or 23 students who started grade 1 with her and continued on to grade 12 that at least twelve of these students were from francophone homes. She has noted that out of this group of francophones that only two or three of them, including herself, still speak French today. She supposes that her francophone classmates were assimilated because their families did not make the same effort as did her parents to help their children maintain the French language, "Mais, je pense que l'effort à la maison n'était pas le même que chez moi."

Acquiring a Commitment to Second Language Development. The grade 1 teacher's early experiences as a child and student with the learning of French seem to influence her decisions, when planning prospective lines of action for social studies teaching, to place a high priority on second language development goals. When planning a social studies unit or lesson, France always included the following two objectives: Firstly, developing her students' vocabulary, and secondly, getting students to apply their newly acquired vocabulary in new situations or contexts. When planning her social studies unit on "La maison" for example, France explained that she would simply base her unit on the study of vocabulary which would allow her students to divide and describe different rooms in the house, "Je vais faire simplement une unité de l'étude du vocabulaire. Les enfants vont diviser les chambres principales de la maison ... "

Marie. Marie grew up in a predominantly French speaking community in a family which valued the French language and culture. She remembers being taught many French songs at home and being read French stories. When she started school, she recalls having little if any knowledge of the English language. Like France, Marie was also immersed in the English language in the bilingual school which she attended. The songs Marie learned as a child, and the way she was taught English and French at school appear to have influenced her definitions of second language acquisition and the means she uses when organizing knowledge for teaching music and social studies to students in French immersion.

Past Knowledge as a Curriculum Source. Having received no formal university training for teaching music, Marie stated that when she was faced with having to teach four different music classes at Sprucevale Elementary School she drew upon her own music background and included in her music curriculum the songs she had learned as a

child, "Toute ma musique que j'enseigne moi, c'est mes vieilles chansons ... que j'ai pris moi-même dans mes cours de musique comme enfant. ... quand j'étais petite."

Music and songs, I noted, always formed part of Marie's social studies curriculum. She said that she likes to select French songs when planning and organizing her social studies as she believes that not only do students enjoy singing but that the she can teach children French through songs and so many other things, "Je trouve que tu peux tellement enseigner des choses en faisant chanter les enfants." She is of the opinion that when children learn to sing a song they learn to remember the sequences of words, "Parce qu'ils apprennent. Parce que dans une chanson ils savent et se souviennent de la séquence des mots, tu sais."

Second Language Learning Through Songs and Gestures. The grade 2 teacher believes that in order to learn a second language students have to be able to feel it and live it. She finds that when students can express themselves through songs and gestures, for example, they really absorb what they are learning.

> Moi, je trouve que vraiment apprendre une deuxième langue, si tu ne fais pas le geste tu ne ressens pas que tu apprends quelque chose. Je ne sais pas moi, quant-à-moi, être assis et répéter des mots tu ne vis pas ta langue parce que si tu fais beaucoup d'expressions, des petits jeux, ou bien, donc, tu fais vraiment des expressions de visage, il me semble que là, c'est plus important. C'est plus significatif. C'est ça le mot, j'espère. Vraiment là, they really absorb what they are learning.

During the research project Marie always integrated songs in her social studies planning and teaching. The songs she selected were related to the social studies themes being studied. If she was unable to find a suitable song, she would thumb through a book of children's poems or rhymes, select a poem or rhyme and then adapt it to a tune familiar to her students. When Marie was looking for suitable Dutch songs to teach her students for her project on Holland, I noted that she went to a table in the corner of her classroom which was covered with books and other resource materials on Holland. She picked up a well-worn book of Dutch songs and music. As she flipped through the pages she would hum the melodies, and she then selected a song with an easy tune and a simple verse which she told me she proposed to translate into French.

During classroom observations I noted that the grade 2 teacher had the students sing several songs related to the themes being studied in social studies and that she used gestures when teaching them songs or reading them a story. When Marie, for example, taught a lesson on "L'automne" she had the students sing "Petit nuage blanc." During the Carnaval celebrations they sang songs such as, "Le Carnaval" and "Mardi Gras." The students used accompanying gestures when singing and also when speaking. Marie explained that even if her students do not know the meaning of a word or a group of words that when she uses gestures and the tone of her voice expressively that she captures her students' attention thereby providing them with meaningful contextual clues which they can then interpret, "C'est aussi une manière de vraiment les attirer ... si cette personne fait beaucoup d'expressions, ils vont apprendre ce que ça veut dire quand même." According to Marie, gestures appropriately used by the students with language also provides her with a certain feedback as to their understanding of French.

Acquiring Pedagogical Knowledge for Second Language Teaching. Having received no formal university training for teaching French in an immersion situation at the elementary level, the grade 2 teacher told me that when she began to teach French immersion she had to draw upon her own schooling experiences for ideas on how to teach a second language.

Marie explained that when she was first faced with teaching kindergarten in French to non-francophones she based her curriculum on the sorts of things she had done in her first year of school when she had been immersed in the English language, " ... le vocabulaire français en me basant sur la même chose que j'avais fait moi-même à la première année lorsque j'apprennais l'anglais pour la première fois." In her first year of school Marie recalls being taught English vocabulary with cards, with little books, and by manipulating a variety of things, " ... Alors, on me faisait apprendre du vocabulaire avec des cartes, avec des petits livres, avec la manipulation de toutes sortes de choses." When she had to teach early elementary immersion students Marie said that she thought back about how an exceptional French teacher had taught her grammar and language. She also recalled the sort of things they did in their French oratory and composition competitions, including the themes studied and the sentence structures they had worked on. " ... Par contre, moi, ce que j'ai fait, j'ai retourné en arrière lorsque moi j'ai été à l'école dans mon petit village ... "

Marie's recollections of how she learned both English as a second language and French at school seem to have a certain degree of influence on her decisions to place a high priorty on second language development goals, especially vocabulary development, when selecting and organizing knowledge for her classroom social studies curriculum. During the research project I consistently noted that in all of her social studies units and lesson plans Marie always spoke about having the following two major goals or objectives in mind: Firstly, to develop her students' vocabulary, and secondly, getting her students to apply their newly acquired vocabulary or concepts in a variety of contexts. For example, when planning her unit on "L'automne" Marie related that she had decided that in her first lesson on fall that she would talk to the students about fall using the vocabulary they had learned when studying the seasons, "C'est-à-dire que tu en parles avec ton vocabulaire que tu développes au début de l'année quand tu parles des saisons ... Il faut partir du vocabulaire passé des élèves."

Three weeks after the grade 2 teacher had started teaching her unit on fall I noted during a classroom observation that she had the students apply their newly acquired vocabulary to describe a series of pictures. A short lesson segment in which she used an educational film entitled, "In Autumn" is as follows:

Marie: "Qu'est-ce que c'est?"
Ss. "Une citrouille."
Marie: "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a dans sa bouche?"
S1. "Une pipe."
S2. "Un blé dinde."
S3. "Du mais."
Marie: "Qu'est-ce qu'il a sur la tête?"
S4. "Un chapeau de paille."
Marie: "Combien de dents a-t-il?"

S5. "Il a deux dents."
Marie: "Qu'est-ce qu'on voit?"
S7. "Des pommes."
Marie: "Quelles sortes de pommes?"
Ss. "Pommes rouges."
Marie: "Qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec les pommes?"
S6. "On fait des sorcières."
Marie: "Qu'est-ce que vous avez mis sur vos pommes?"
Ss. "Des chapeaux. Des robes."
S7. "On peut découper nos pommes."
Marie: "Quelles sortes d'autres choses qu'on peut faire?

......................

Marie continued to ask students questions which allowed them to apply previously learned vocabulary in a new context.

Other lessons were observed during the project which substantiated that Marie placed an emphasis on her students' second language development when she taught them social studies. The data therefore suggests a possible relationship between Marie's own second language learning experiences as a child and a student and her social studies judgments, decisions, and actions.

### The Implications of Cultural Transmission in French Immersion.

During their childhood, the two teachers acquired sets of cultural meanings, or traditions and customs which they would like to transmit to their French immersion students. Because of the divergent cultural backgrounds of the students in their classrooms the two teachers sometimes find that they have to make decisions to revise or reject certain forms of knowledge or classroom learning experiences.

France. France explained that when she went to school, her teachers transmitted certain cultural traditions. Even though France would like to transmit certain cultural meanings or traditions to her students, because of the types of students in her classroom she has to limit her choices of cultural elements.

France recalled that when she attended school Christmas had a religious meaning. The teachers would bring them to visit Jesus in the manger at the local church, "Quand on allait à l'école, le professeur nous conduisait à l'église et on visitait la crêche ... " Because France's students come from different cultural backgrounds, she found that when planning and organizing her social studies Christmas unit that she was faced with having to limit her choices about the religious meaning of Christmas, "Mais il faut éliminer beaucoup de choses qu'on aimerait faire ... " While showing me the Christmas activity booklet which she had prepared for her students, France pointed out that the majority of the pictures she had included in the booklet were mainly pictures of Santa Claus, the Christmas tree, and Christmas decorations. She informed me that her plans were to only briefly mention to her students that Christmas is Jesus' birthday, that Jesus was born in a manger, and that his parents are called Joseph and Mary. France also remembers that when she was young Halloween was a meaningful celebration for the students. She said that she wanted to include in her social studies teaching a small unit on "La Hallowe'en" but because she has a Jehovah Witness student in her class who is not allowed by her parents to participate in Halloween activities she decided that she would spend less time on her Halloween unit as she did not want to exclude this particular student from the class for any length of time.

Marie. The usage of gestures when speaking French is deemed by the grade 2 teacher to be an appropriate form of cultural behavior and she likes to encourage her students to use gestures and expressions when communicating in French. She believes that using gestures helps students to lose their shyness, and language then becomes automatic for them, "Les enfants viennent qu'ils n'ont plus de gêne et ça devient presque automatique que tu ne dis rien sans faire quelque chose pour montrer que tu comprends vraiment ce que tu dis." Marie sometimes finds herself having to revise her expectation that all students use gestures when speaking French as she has a few students in her class who are from ethnic groups whose cultural upbringing looks negatively upon individuals who use many gestures and expressions. Marie told me that she does not want to go against what certain types of students are taught at home, "Mais, il faut faire bien attention parce que je me rend compte des ethnicités ... Mais, des fois il faut que tu revises tes exigences, tes expectations."

### Acquiring Normative Definitions of Child Socialization.

The grade 2 teacher did not identify any particular aspect of her early socialization which might influence her educational practices. The grade 1 teacher, on the other hand, compared the normative standards of discipline when she went to school with today's normative standards of child socialization.

France. France remembers that when she went to school teachers had the approval of parents to carry out discipline in their classrooms. No longer, she advised, does a teacher have parental approval to discipline children. As a result, she often feels isolated and alone when it comes to making decisions about disciplining students.

When France went to school she and her siblings would never dare complain to her parents about what a teacher did to them because they knew that their parents would not question the teacher's authority and actions, " ... parce que le professeur avait l'autorité. Jamais, jamais que les parents questionnaient le professeur, même si le professeur était dans le tort ... " According to France, discipline is still important today but a teacher no longer has the necessary tools for disciplining students, "La discipline est encore importante. On n'a pas les outils. Il y a quelque chose qui manque dans la discipline." She said that even if a teacher sends a child to see the principal, the child knows that nothing will happen. She lamented that she really feels isolated and alone when it comes to having to discipline students who never listen, obey, or do their work, "Tu sais, on est toute seule dans notre classe pour faire la discipline."

I once told France that during classroom observations I had noted that she never seemed to raise her voice at the students but that instead she pulled the desk away of students who made a nuisance of themselves, or disturbed others, or who, upon negotiating with her, would not do their work. I added that I had noticed that when she isolated a student, that the student would either quiet down, behave, or do his work. France informed me that she did not believe in raising her voice at the students, the reason being that once a teacher begins to raise her voice then the next time she has to talk louder to them in order to get their attention, and so on, "Presque jamais! ... Non! Ca ne vaut presque pas la peine de se lever la voix! ... Ca ne vaut pas la peine!" As far as isolating a student is concerned, she explained that as a teacher cannot physically punish a student the only recourse she has is to isolate a student. She added that isolating a student was a practice which she was not much in favor of because when you isolate a child he does not learn, "La seule chose qu'on peut faire c'est d'isoler l'enfant et puis si on isole l'enfant, il n'apprend pas."

Reflecting upon the changing normative standards of discipline, the grade 1 teacher expressed the view that maybe discipline in schools in the past was too severe therefore people revolted and now we have reached the point where there is even a lack of self-discipline among members of society. France has remarked that today, if a teacher dares lift a hand against a child or raises her voice at a student, the following day she will hear from the parents who will says things like, "Don't touch my child! Don't speak to my child that way!" What is a teacher to do, she wondered. The grade 1 teacher said that one of her biggest problems is discipline, especially having to discipline students who never listen, "Ca c'est un des plus gros problèmes pour moi. C'est la discipline des élèves, surtout ceux qui n'écoutent jamais!"

## College, Professional, and Teacher Training

Both teachers evaluated their college and teacher training programs as not having prepared them to teach French immersion or social studies. As far as the grade 1 teacher is concerned certain pedagogical and theoretical knowledge she acquired in her college and professional training have influenced and continue to influence her curricular judgments, decisions, and actions, whereas the grade 2 teacher is of the opinion that her college and professional training have not helped her as a teacher.

France. The grade 1 teacher recollected a learning experience she had been involved in during her year in college which she now draws upon when selecting and organizing knowledge for social studies teaching. She also spoke about how her degree in Sociology influences her perceptions of children and her educational practice.

Acquiring Pedagogical Knowledge. While attending College Saint-Jean for a period of one year the grade 1 teacher recalls studying subjects in French such as geography, history, philosophy, sociology and taking French language courses. She remembers that in a French course she had to develop a unit based on stories for the grade 3 level and that she had to prepare a little activity booklet for children. She then distributed her activity booklet to classroom teachers who experimented with the booklet and who judged it to be valuable. I noted that when France planned her social studies units she would always prepare a student activity booklet of approximately 20 pages. During a classroom observation I noted that she had the students assemble an activity booklet. She confirmed after class that having the students assemble a booklet was part of what a social studies unit was for her, "Oui! C'est comme ça que ça se passe. Alors, c'est ça une unité pour les études sociales pour moi." She explained that once the activity booklet was completed that she allowed the children to bring it home so that they could share with their parents what they had done in class. A segment of a lesson observed in which France had her students assemble their Christmas activity booklet was as follows: Firstly, she gave the students colored cardboard for the covers and pieces of colored wool for tying the booklets together in the three punched holes and told them,

France: "Bon! Cet après-midi, mes amis, j'aimerais qu'on fasse les petits livres de Noël. Bon, je vais vous donner un morceau de papier rouge. Vous allez écrire quoi?"
Ss. "Noël! Noël!"
France: "Et je le veux gros. Pas petit."
S1. "We'll make a book?"
S2. "Oh! Now I know!"
France: "Quand vous avez fini, vous levez la main et je vous donne trois morceaux de laine. What do you do?
S3. "Decorate le papier rouge."
France: "Après? Oh! Ecrivez votre nom sur le cahier. Vous écrivez Mme.______?"
Ss. "Non!"
France: "Quand tu vas avoir fini de décorer, je vais te donner tes papiers pour mettre dans le milieu."
S4. "Do you write Noël?"
France: "Oui! Oui! Très gros."
S5. ...................
France: "Oh! Oui! Tu peux faire des petits sapins, des bonhommes de neige."

France then told the students she would pass them their activity sheets and informed them that they were not to put them in their booklet right away. As she passed out the sheets she warned them not to fool around with the pages as they would get mixed up. Once the pages were handed out she went from one student to another to assist them or to check the organization of their activity booklet.

Teacher Training, A Negative Experience. In her P.D.A.D. Program (Professional Development After Degree Program) completed at the University of Alberta in the early 1970's France specialized in the teaching of music at the elementary level, a subject she enjoyed as a child. As far as social studies training is concerned, France stated that she received only one week of training. They were asked to prepare a ten minute social studies lesson which had no follow-up nor they did they have to concern themselves about what preceded the 10 minute lesson, "Une leçon de quoi?" she wondered when being told to prepare the lesson. When first faced with having to teach social studies she remembers asking herself what social studies was, "Qu'est-ce que c'est ça les études sociales?" She added that she felt like she was in a "vacumn" and experienced feelings of absolute "misery."

According to the grade 1 teacher, her teacher training program was a terrible program, and practicum a negative experience for her, "C'était terrible! J'ai eu une mauvaise expérience avec mon practicum." To begin with, she assessed the program as being "unreal" and too theoretical as it failed to make them aware of classroom realities such as the amount of time it takes children to carry out certain tasks like coloring, cutting, and gluing. Furthermore, it did not give them an opportunity to take on the responsibility of a classroom or to develop self-confidence when having to go before a class. She still shudders when she thinks about how she would stiffen up in front of a class, "Je figeais devant les enfants!" She added that she cannot forgive and forget the professor who told her that she would never become a "good" grade 1 teacher. Her secret wish, she explained, would be for that same professor to come in now and observe her teach her grade 1 class, "J'aimerais qu'elle me voit enseigner la première année maintenant!"

Music, a Source of Pedagogical Knowledge. France specialized in the teaching of music in her teacher training program, a subject of great interest to her. During the project I noted that she always included songs in her social studies unit planning and teaching, songs which were generally related to the themes being studied. For example, one of the songs which the students sang during a classroom observation when France taught a lesson on late fall was, "L'hiver est ici!" I further noted that France would sometimes ask the students if they wanted to listen to music as they worked on a task, "Est-ce que vous voulez de la musique?" The response would always be, "Oui!" As the students worked and listened to the music they would either hum along or sing the song in French.

Sociology, a Source of Pedagogical Knowledge. Prior to her teacher training France obtained a B.A. Degree in Sociology at the University of Alberta. She judged that from all of her university and profesional training her background in sociology has been invaluable to her as a teacher. She evaluated her studies in sociology as having assisted her in developing a conception of children and a set of principles upon which she bases her educational practice.

The grade 1 teacher stated that sociology has helped her to better understand how a child's milieu can affect his classroom behavior. A particular sociological premise which she believes to have some truth in practice is that the child's milieu is his home and that a child learns certain forms of behavior at home. If things go well at home then the child gets along well at school. If things do not go well at school, then things do not go well at home, "Si tout va bien à la maison, ça va bien à l'école ... d'habitude ça marche comme ça."

Sociological theories, France said, have provided her with ideas on how she, as a teacher, can help the gifted and the disadvantaged child and have assisted her in her own self-growth and reflective acts. For example, she stated that she has become more tolerant of children and can accept them as they are, "Et puis, on se rend plus ouvert à accepter l'enfant comme il est et pas avoir de prêjugés ou les préjugés sont moins sévères." Theory, according to France, is the basis of educational practice. She therefore maintains that there is a need for teachers to have a set of principles upon which to base their practice, "C'est bien d'avoir des théories parce que c'est la base de l'éducation. Il faut avoir un principe sur lequel on peut se baser." Because sociological theories have assisted her in her educational practice, the grade 1 teacher insists that there should be a course such as Educational Sociology introduced in the teacher training program, "Peut-être qu'on pourrait introduire un cours intitulé Ed. Socio."

Acquiring Typificatory Schemes of Children and Recognizing their Needs. Sociology seems to have provided France with typificatory schemes of learners' abilities and notions as to their probable behavior and needs.

On several occasions during the project France typified her slow-learners or slow workers as her "tortues" (turtles). The word "tortue" was a meaningful concept for the grade 1 students as they had learned to recognize, read, and apply the word. Whenever they ran across the word "tortue" in their readers the grade 1 teacher would ask them to recall what she had called them that particular morning when it took certain students more time than others to complete a task, "Qu'est-ce que je t'ai appelé ce matin, là? Tu ne te souviens pas? Ca commence avec un "t"." As soon as the children recalled the word, they began to laugh. The grade 1 teacher assumes that when children can relate themselves to a word learned in an amicable situation with their teacher then that word has more meaning for them, "C'est plus amicable du professeur."

What does a student which France typifies as a "tortue" look like? How does a "tortue" behave and how does France respond? One particular afternoon, I observed that as thirty-four excited grade 1 students dressed up for recess that a young blond boy could be seen in a corner of the classroom struggling with his snowsuit zipper and scarf. France noticed him and proceeded to assist him to get dressed. In the process of tying his scarf France looked up at me and with a big smile on her face said, "Ca c'est ma tortue!" The young blond boy turned around and grinned. Then for a moment both teacher and the blond "tortue" exchanged warm smiles. No sooner had France secured his scarf, the heavily bundled blond boy sluggishly made his way to the hallway door hollering, "Wait for me you guys!" France glanced in my direction and we both laughed knowing quite well that the other children were already outdoors. France's "tortue" not only had difficulties getting dressed by himself but also displayed psychomotor related problems when carrying out classroom tasks. I noted during a classroom observation that he had problems putting together a puzzle. France had to spend some time with him in order to show him how to select his puzzle pieces either by color or by shapes and how to lock the matching forms into place. As she was assisting him she told me that this boy also had difficulties printing his letters and that he was was slow in completing most classroom tasks. She evaluated his work as always being messy, "Son travail ici est tellement malpropre!" When the young blond boy got ready to leave for home that same afternoon I observed the France had to assist him once again with his zipper and scarf. As she helped him get dressed she gave her little "tortue" a big hug. The young blond boy smiled and then slowly made his way out of the classroom.

The young blond boy was just one "tortue" among other "tortues" in the grade 1 teacher's class. She would sometimes complain to me after class about the amount of time it takes her slow students to carry out such tasks as cutting, coloring, or gluing. During a social studies classroom observation I noted that it took certain students 45 minutes to color and cut, or just to color objects on a sheet of paper. France once heaved her shoulders and loudly lamented, "Quarante-cinq minutes pour colorer!" She then went on to explain that she was willing to trade-off second language development time in order to help her slow students develop their coordination or psychomotor skills. During the project I consistently observed that the grade 1 teacher would organize social studies activities in such a way that the slow-students had time to complete a task. During classroom observations I noticed that once the fast-workers had completed a task they would go off on their own to work in the classroom's resource and listening center which France had designed. In this particular area of the class they quietly played mathematical and language games prepared by the teacher, or they would read little story books also prepared by France, or they would use cassette recorders and earphones in order to listen to French stories. In the meantime the slow students had an opportunity to complete their work. France once explained that she prefers to keep her slow-workers in class rather than sending them to the resource room as she does not believe in isolating students from their classmates, "Je ne suis pas tout à fait d'accord avec les "resource rooms," que l'enfant soit toujours mis de côté ... parce qu'il ne peut pas aller aussi vite que les autres." During classroom observations I further noted that France attempted to attend to a variety of students' needs, from helping them dress up warmly to calling upon certain students with certain talents but weak academically to go before the class and lead a sing-song. She also devoted her attention to listening to the children's stories, or their personal problems, and she organized classroom activities which allowed her to circulate among the students and help those with learning problems while the others were busy with a task.

Marie. According to the grade 2 teacher, her college and university teacher training have not helped her as a teacher. Marie was of the opinion that not even her EDCI (Educational Curriculum and Instruction) courses have assisted her as a teacher, "Mais pour dire le vrai, là, j'ai rien de ce que j'ai appris à l'université qui m'a aidé dans mon enseignement, même pas mes EDCI courses, mes cours de curriculum."

Not Trained to Teach French Immersion. Specializing as a teacher of French as a second language Marie said she received no training to teach social studies, mathematics, English literature, the sciences, physical education and music, all the subjects she must now teach in French immersion, "Alors, tout franchement, tu sais, là, quand j'y pense, qu'est-ce que j'ai appris qui aurait pu m'aider maintenant? C'est rien! Il faut absolument l'admettre." The grade 2 teacher recalled being taught to use second language teaching methodologies such as "Bonjour Line" and "Voix et Images de France", methodologies which she considers to be useless in French immersion, "Ce n'était pas grande chose! ... Ca, c'est des beaux programmes!"

## Teachers' Career

When the two teachers participated in the research project they had taught for approximately seven years and both had been involved in curriculum development and revision activities for their school board. The data suggest that the teachers' career experiences have provided them with: a) typificatory schemes of students' abilities and notions of causality between students' abilities and their expected behavior; b) normative definitions of how they are expected to act in their role as teachers; c) many ideas about educational practice, "Tu accumules beaucoup des idées" (grade 2 teacher). According to the grade 1 teacher, it is with experience that a teacher acquires a spontaneity of ideas which assist her in planning, "C'est avec l'expérience qu'on peut planifier plus vite.

Quand tu lis les idées te viennent à la tête."; and, d) emotional responses toward teaching in a French immersion situation. Both teachers admitted that teaching in a French immersion situation was not an easy job, "Ce n'est pas facile!" They also expressed on different occasions that sometimes they found themselves feeling frustrated because of the many pressures arising from the situation.

France. When France volunteered to participate in the research project it was her second year as a grade 1 teacher of French immersion at Hill Elementary School. She had taught for a total of approximately six years. Her teaching experiences in Alberta have included teaching French to francophones in the one hour per day of French instruction (bilingual) program at the grades 7 to 9 levels. For a short period of time in her career she did some substitute teaching in Ontario. Prior to teaching grade 1 at Hill Elementary School she had spent a year and a half working for her school board as a resource person responsible for covering five to seven schools offering French immersion programs. She was also involved in curriculum development and revision activities for her school board.

Becoming involved in French immersion "was a fluke" for France. She had been substitute teaching in Ontario and when she began to run out of money a friend suggested that she contact a school board in the region of Edmonton, Alberta. She did, and that same afternoon she received a telephone call from the school board notifying her when she could commence teaching.

French Immersion Perceived as a Normative Program. The grade 1 teacher's teaching experiences in a bilingual and French immersion situation seem to have influenced her definitions of French immersion schooling. French immersion, she insists, is a normative educational program, not a special program as certain others seem to think. Having taught in a Standard French program (one hour per day of instructional time in French) she judges that immersion students are not penalized from participating in all school activities while working toward the mastery of French. France recalled that when she taught grades 7 to 9 in a bilingual school that her students could not take art because art was offered at the same time as French. She further added that she would sometimes hear students in the Standard French program complain that they did not like French, "Je n'aime pas le français!" She vows that she has never has heard students in French immersion complain that they did not like French. Based on her career experiences she supposes that if children can learn French so well in Grade 1, then they are not obliged to go the route of Standard French where, after studying oral French for 5 to 6 years students leave High School with "rien," that is, they may be able to read French and translate but they cannot communicate in French.

Marie. Marie had taught for a total of eight years, and when she participated in the research project it was her third year as a grade 2 teacher of French immersion at Sprucevale Elementary School. Prior to teaching grade 2 Marie had taught kindergarten, and grades 1, 4, and 5 in Alberta. She was also an active member in the Alberta Teachers' Professional Association and served on her school board's program revision committee. The summer prior to participating in the research project Marie had worked with a group of teachers on revising her school board's social studies program.

### Acquiring Typificatory Schemes of Students Through Interactions.

Having taught the same grade level the previous year, the two teachers have acquired typificatory schemes of students' needs, abilities, potentials, and attitudes which seem to influence their curricular judgments, decisions, and actions. Even though the grade 1 and grade 2 teachers made a few comparative statements about the types of students they had this year in their class as compared to last year's group of students, they both said that they generally do not like to compare one year's group of students with another year's group. The teachers' comparative statements provide a few insights into their typificatory schemes of students' abilities and their expectations of students' behavior.

France. The grade 1 teacher perceived last year's group of grade 1 students as being quite different from this year's group. She typified this year's group as being more mature, not as weak, more ready and willing to work in class, and easier to control and to discipline than last year's grade 1 students, " ... Cette année c'est beaucoup plus facile à controller, à discipliner." She concluded that she has a tendency of never perceiving her students in the same manner from one year to the next. When she believes she has a class of bright students whom she typifies as "des ètoiles" then she said she sees only the weak students, and when she perceives that she has a class of weak students then she notices "les ètoiles." According to the grade 1 teacher, how she perceives her students influences her selection of teaching materials. For example, her assessment of the types of students she has this year has made her decide that the bulk of the teaching materials she used with last year's students could not be used with this year's group, "Il y a un tas de matériel que je me suis servie l'année passée mais je n'aurai pas besoin de m'en servir cette année parce que j'ai un différent groupe d'élèves."

Negotiable and Non-negotiable Types of Children. In her experiences with different types of students France has acquired sets of meanings as to how different types of students are expected to behave. For example, she has observed that students who are tolerant, patient, mature and responsible are generally quite willing to compromise themselves whereas students who lack tolerance, are impatient, have no self-discipline and accept no responsibility for their actions are generally not open to negotiations or compromises. She has further noted that students who are not willing to compromise themselves take the following attitude, "I don't like doing this! I just don't like this! This is boring! It's boring! Oh! I just don't like this!" France is rather amazed about how narrow-minded 5 and 6 year olds can be, "Ils ont déjà une idée étroite. C'est étrange de voir ça! Cinq ans, six ans, parce qu'il y en a qui n'ont pas encore six ans." When negotiating with different types of students the grade 1 teacher said that she tries to place herself in their situation, "J'essaie de me mettre dans leurs bottes." Based on her experiences with different types of students France has reached the conclusion that a teacher just cannot please everyone in her class because there are some students that you just cannot please, "On ne peut pas plaire à tout le monde parce qu'il y a des petits enfants à qui on ne peut pas plaire."

Marie. Marie evaluated last year's group of grade 2 students as having a greater potential for learning than this year's group, "J'en avais des meilleurs l'an passé. ... J'avais beaucoup plus de potentiel l'an passé." This year, she added, she has a few strong students and some very weak students, "Cette année j'en ai des forts et puis des très faibles." She did observe though that this year she has some students who try very hard to achieve, "Je trouve, par contre, les enfants de cette année ils essayent beaucoup." The grade 1 teacher explained that she usually does not like making comparisons between groups of students from one year to the next as she tends to become depressed or frustrated with her present class. If she compares students then she finds her expectations become too high for the kinds of students she has. She therefore prefers to accept students for what they are, " ... tu peux avoir la tendance d'être déprimée avec la classe que tu as ou tes attentes deviennent frustrées. ... Alors, je les prends comme ils viennent et puis ..."

Negotiable and Non-negotiable Types of Students. Marie reported having students in her class whom she typified as being gifted. Learning is spontaneous and natural for them, "La petite fille apprend comme ça. C'est un naturel! She finds that these types of students are willing to compromise themselves. Marie also typified some of her students as weak students, slow learners, students who do not take schooling seriously, and students who have no self-discipline. Among this group she finds that some of them try very hard to achieve in her class, and believes that there is some hope for them, "Au moins j'ai ouvert la petite porte." When Marie can detect some students making a little progress "un petit brillant" or "une toute petite lumière" she is highly elated. On the other hand, she has types of students who have the ability to achieve but they make no effort. These students annoy her and she finds herself taking the attitude of "swim or sink" toward them. Why, she wondered, should she tire herself out trying to help or negotiate with students who are not willing to help themselves, "Pourquoi je me débatterais comme une folle?" Some of these students, she stated, are close-minded, "C'est fermé! Tout, tout, tout est fermé!"

In April, Marie said that she perceived a causal relationship between the slow-learners in her class, who are in a majority, and her inability to implement her ideas and achieve the goals and objectives she had set out for herself at the beginning of the year,

> Surtout cette année, parce que je me dis, je n'ai pas accompli grand chose avec les élèves à cause du genre d'élève que j'avais, et puis à cause de toutes les choses que je savais que je devais faire, toutes les belles idées que j'avais au début de l'année qu'il a fallu que je jette à l'eau à cause que ça ne fonctionnait pas.

Marie also perceived a causal relationship between certain students' lack of seriousness about education and her inability to achieve her proposed goals. She supposes that students' attitudes reflect societal attitudes which she described as follows: If people do not like doing something, they will not do it, or that if they do not do it today, they will do it tomorrow. Children, she believes, are the same. She typifies them as taking on the generalized attitude, " ... et puis les enfants le prennent aussi, et puis ils nous arrivent à l'école avec cette attitude. ... Si je ne le fais pas du tout, ça ne me fais rien!" She finds this type of attitude frustrating. As the year progressed she saw herself becoming more and more frustrated and pressured because of her students' attitudes, "Alors, c'est un pêle-mêle, et puis à ce temps ici de l'année, là, je suis très frustrée! Je me sens une pression incroyable! ... Je me sens, là, vraiment tirée!"

Acquiring Role Definitions.

Both teachers have acquired definitions of how they are expected to act as teachers of French immersion and of the characteristics needed to be a teacher of French immersion. The two teachers complained that in French immersion they are expected to do too much curriculum development and adaptation work including the translation of resource materials but that they are given little if any preparation time during school hours to carry out such tasks.

France said that a teacher of French immersion has to be very patient and tolerant of situations, "Ca prend beaucoup, beaucoup de patience! ... Il faut être tolérant de plusieurs situations." Further, she added, a teacher needs to use common sense, "Je pense qu'il faut se servir du bon sens." Marie believes that in order to teach in French immersion a teacher needs much enthusiasm, "Ca demande beaucoup d'enthousiasme," and a teacher must like social studies to teach it.

France, it was noted, had two 30 minute spare periods per week, from 3:00 - 3:30 p.m. on Mondays and Fridays. Her students had physical education with another teacher during those time periods.

Marie reported that she taught 1400 minutes per week and had a total of 60 minutes of preparation time per week which was spread over two periods of less than 15 minutes each and two periods of less than 20 minutes each. She grumbled that she could not accomplish anything during such short spare periods, "Tu n'accomplis rien!" She had just enough time to pour herself a cup of coffee and make a phone call or take a look at a page in a book, " ... Et puis c'est tout!" All of her planning for teaching, she advised, has to be done either at lunch-time or after school, evenings, or weekends. She was rather discouraged with the existing state of affairs, "Ce n'est pas intéressant!" She is of the opinion that it would be enjoyable to have the time to plan her curriculum, "Ca serait donc intéressant si on pourrait avoir plus de temps pour la planification de la programmation." She also finds that there are so many extra-curricular activities which take up her time. In the spring, for example, she mentioned that she was involved planning activities for education week and the spring concert, to name a few. She said that she sometimes wished that she did not have to be involved in all of the time-consuming extra-curricular activities and could just devote all her time to teaching. The two teachers identified other aspects of their role perceptions in the following manner:

France. The grade 1 teacher spoke about how her own role perceptions as a teacher have changed over a period of time. She also went on to describe why there is a gap between her image of a "good" teacher which she aims for and her actual classroom practice. She also identified the limits and constraints arising from the

French immersion situation which influence her curricular judgments, decisions, and actions.

Changing Role Perceptions. When France left university in order to begin her career as a teacher she recalled that she was enthusiastic and could not wait to put some of her ideas into practice, "We're going to get out there and we're keen." After her first year of teaching she found that she had spent so much of her energy trying to follow programs and to develop ideas that she became tired and told herself that the following year she would slow down a little, "Bien! On va ralentir un peu!" After teaching for three years she decided to keep on diminishing her work, justifying her actions by questioning the sense of it all, "Bien! A quoi ça sert?" As a teacher she finds that every three years she needs to recycle herself or as she stated, "se laver l'esprit" by taking what she called "a little energy pill somewhere."

France explained that as a teacher she is faced with so many pressures, demands, and expectations coming from the students, parents, administration, and the professional group, "Il y a tellement des pressions! Les enfants s'attendent à quelque chose. Les parents s'attendent à quelque chose. ... " Recognizing that she has her own limits, goals, and objectives she finds that she is constantly faced with having to integrate these internal elements to various external expectations and demands, "Toi tu a tes limites, tes buts, tes objectifs, et il faut que tu fasses marcher tout ça ensemble. ... " Faced with having to make so many decisions by herself which affect children's lives, France once told me that she finds herself feeling all alone, "On est seule!"

Sometimes France complained that teaching was stressful and boring, "C'est plate!" I consistently noted that once the 32 - 34 students (the grade 1 teacher had between 32 - 34 students in the afternoon, and only half of the group in the mornings because the class was split with another teacher) had left for home France would usually talk about how exhausted and tired she was. In early December when the students had cut out snowflakes during their social studies class in order to decorate the classroom windows, I observed that the room was literally covered with white paper cuttings. Once the students had left the classroom for the day France stood gazing at the unbelievable mess the students had left behind and lamented in despair, "Garde-moi le fouillis!" She then uttered that in the morning her room was so clean, "C'était propre ce matin!" On other occasions when France detected that some of her students were making progress her face would light up and she would proudly begin telling me how well they were progressing, "Mais, là, ils sont rendus très bon! ... Ca fait du progrès, hein!" On these particular occasions, beaming with joy, she would talk about how her students' progress was satisfying not only for herself but also for the students, "C'est enrichissant pour eux-autres et pour moi aussi, puis de voir qu'ils apprennent quelque chose."

An Image of a "Good" Teacher as a Guide to Classroom Practice. The grade 1 teacher stated that she has an image of what she considers to be a "good" teacher and that in her role as a teacher she tries to put into practice her definition of a good teacher. Sometimes, she said, she finds that the situation makes it difficult for her to live up to her own role expectations.

A "good" teacher, according to France, is someone who focuses on the uniqueness, the needs and the well-being of children, and who recognizes that a child forms part of a group and needs help in learning how to become a member of a group. A good teacher's main concern, she added, should be the well-being of children. A teacher may be knowledgeable about teaching methodologies and may have all the necessary resource materials, but as France pointed out, if that person cannot recognize that certain students have different needs then that teacher is not a "good" teacher,

> Quelqu'un qui veut faire un bon travail avec les élèves qu'il a. Quelqu'un qui veut faire le meilleur possible avec les élèves qu'il a. Ca c'est un bon professeur pour moi. ... L'enfant est premier. ... Il faut que le professeur reconnaisse que chaque enfant est unique, que l'enfant doit faire partie d'un groupe. ... Il fait bien les méthodes d'enseignement et puis il a un tas de matériel, toutes sortes de choses, mais il ne reconnait pas que certains élèves ont certains besoins.

A good teacher, she went on to explain, must be able to make students laugh now and then but her role is not that of a television entertainer, "On peut les faire rire de temps en temps, mais on n'est pas là pour le faire réagir comme si nous étions à la télévision."

Class Size as a Limitation to Social Studies Teaching. France's aim is to be a "good" teacher but she finds that with between 32 - 34 students in her class it becomes difficult for her to get to know all the students and to help them on an individual basis. The grade 1 teacher finds that with 32 - 34 students she has to eliminate certain social studies value objectives in her lesson planning and teaching as it is not possible for her to ask each child questions such as: "What do you think? How do you feel?"

Getting to know 32 - 34 students and assisting each individual is almost an impossible task, France maintains, "C'est difficile, très, très, difficile!" She then sadly referred to a little girl in her class who is very quiet, reserved and shy, a little girl whom she likes very much and the little girl likes her. France told me that she was shocked and distured when she found out from the girl's parents in January that the little girl had an ulcer. In retrospect the grade 1 teacher said that she has had very little time to communicate with this little girl because she had to spend most of her time attending to the noisy and troublesome students.

> ... une petite fille, elle a peut-être parlée dix fois depuis le mois de septembre. Ca c'est une petite fille très tranquille et elle est réservée. Elle est tellement gênée, mais tellement réservée. Elle partage les choses avec les élèves, mais c'est jamais une voix forte. C'est toujours doux, doux, doux! Elle m'aime bien et je l'aime bien mais on n'a pas de communication parce que je n'ai jamais le temps de lui demander ... parce qu'on s'occupe plutôt de ceux qui font le bruit. C'est de valeur!

With 32 - 34 students, the grade 1 teacher finds that students have to learn to be patient and tolerant as she cannot deal immediately with their needs. She has some very patient and tolerant students in class who will wait for hours and others who are very impatient, "J'ai des élèves qui sont très, très patient. ... Ils ont une tolérance. ... Mais ceux qui ne sont pas craintif, qui sont ni tolérant, ni patient ... " She finds that it is difficult for grade 1 students to be patient and she therefore has to keep on reminding them that they are a large group, "C'est bien de valeur! On est un gros groupe!" Teaching 32 - 34 students is viewed by her as placing a hardship not only on the teacher but also on the students. France told me during the month of December after she had been absent from school for three days that she said to herself when she was at home, "The hell with it! They expect too much! I can't do it with 32 kids!" She told me that she then decided to take the attitude that she would do only what she could and no more.

Teaching in Retrospect. During our last meeting in February, shortly after France had left her teaching position, she began talking about how she missed her students. She reported that she had returned on a few occasions to visit the new teacher and her students. As a visitor, she said, she felt like an outsider looking in objectively. Students, she concluded, do not change. They just become attached to another teacher. She was pleased to see that the students had become attached to the new teacher as she believes that a teacher needs her students' support, "....et puis les enfants sont encore pareil! Ca ne change pas des enfants." She did observe that a different interactional pattern had developed between the new teacher and her students which differed when she was the classroom teacher, "La façon qu'elle les traite pendant la journée et puis c'est tout à fait un différent déroulement." She had noted, for example, that the students who had given her problems were not a problem for the new teacher, whereas students who were not problems for her were problems for the new teacher, "Il y a quelques élèves qui réagissent différemment avec elle qu'avec moi, puis elle a moins de problèmes avec certains élèves que moi j'avais, et puis elle en a plus avec certains élèves, et puis!"

Marie. Marie made several comments during the project about how this year, more than other years, she perceived a variety of external pressures and demands as going beyond her own role expectations. She felt depressed because she was not able to achieve her goals, "Là, je me sens poussée!"

Limitations to Goal Implementation. The grade 2 teacher complained about not having enough time to develop her ideas and proposed projects because of the types of students she has to work with, "Mais, c'est vraiment le temps qui me manque pour développer mes idées que j'avais, ou des projets." She attributed the school board tests as limiting her opportunities to accomplish her goals as she felt that she had to leave aside her proposed plans in order to prepare her students for the tests.

The grade 2 teacher identified her students' limited knowledge of the French language and the lack of suitable resources in French as limiting her proposed plans of action. She once complained about the problems related to teaching students with a limited knowledge of French and stated that it would be so easy for a teacher to become lazy and use more English in class, "C'est facile d'être paresseux dans de telles circonstances." She also said that it was frustrating being expected to find suitable social studies resources in French and to always be faced with having to translate materials from English to French, "C'est frustrant d'être obligée d'aller aux ressources anglaises et de les traduire."

After the spring break a new student was placed in Marie's class. This particular student who orginated from Ontario had previously been in a special education class. Marie explained that this student had no knowledge of English and had very poor working habits. She felt that she had enough with 20 students to contend with and now with this new student, who needed special assistance in so many areas she felt that she would probably become crazy before the year end or that she would certainly be crazy come summer, "Alors, si je ne suis pas folle avant la fin de l'année, je vais l'être cet été! Ah! Misère!"

## Limitations Arising from the School Setting.

Hill Elementary and Sprucevale Elementary schools are situated at a distance of approximately 12 miles from each other in residential middle-class English-speaking neighborhoods in the greater Edmonton, Alberta region. These two elementary schools are administered by the same school board. The main feature which distinguishes Hill Elementary and Sprucevale Elementary from the majority of elementary schools in the greater Edmonton region is that these two schools have become involved in the last few years in offering a French immersion program while continuing to offer the regular English Program of Studies. English is the operational and administrative language at the school board level and also in the schools. I noted that in both schools there is a French immersion wing and a section for the English program. A few displays in French can be seen in the French immersion wing. In the library there is a small collection of French books and children's records with the major collection being in English. In the staffroom the language of communication between all the teachers is English with small groups of teachers communicating in French. Give the English nature of the school setting and atmosphere the two teachers are of the opinion that once their students leave their French immersion classroom their opportunities to use French are very limited, or as France stated, her students' experiences in French are finished, "C'est fini son expérience en français."

France. During an interview France stated that she perceived the community as failing to recognize the efforts made by French immersion students to learn French, " ... mais après avoir fait tout cet effort il me semble qu'il devrait avoir en quelque part une récompense, une reconnaissance." She would like to see the following community services made available to French immersion students: children's movies in French, a children's newspaper, comics and stories in French, and the establishment of a French club where students can drop in. She predicted that if no steps are taken by either francophones or anglophones in the community to provide students of French immersion with opportunities to use their French outside of the classroom that these students could, after putting in all that effort to learn French, become re-assimilated into the English language, " ... Il ne faut pas les laisser, tu sais, juste les faire ré-assimiler ou ré-éduquer par les anglais et puis c'est fini ... mais après avoir fait tout cet effort ... "

Marie. When planning a social studies unit on "La communauté" Marie told me that she wanted to bring her students out on a field trip where business was conducted in French. She discovered that there were very few if any places in the greater Edmonton region where she could bring her students. She found a cheese factory where French was spoken but when she called she was informed by management that, for reasons of safety, they did not allow students to visit the premises. She therefore had to change her plans and decided instead to take her students for a walk in the school's immediate neighborhood.

Marie once talked about a student whose father was transferred to a smaller Alberta community where they did not offer a French immersion program. She stated that the mother was in tears when she informed Marie in January that her husband had been transferred to a smaller Alberta community where a French immersion program was not offered. Like the mother, Marie viewed this move as being detrimental to the student's bilingual development, "Oh! La mère en pleur! Pauvre mère! ... Alors, je ne sais pas ce qu'ils vont faire. Ca me fait de la peine aussi. ... "

### Parental Expectations and Demands of French Immersion

According to both teachers there is a relationship between parents' socio-economic status and their high expectations and sometimes unreasonable demands of French immersion schooling. In their encounters with parents, France and Marie sometimes find themselves having to explain or negotiate with them their definitions of French immersion schooling and their beliefs and assumptions about second language learning and educational practices. In the hope of helping parents understand the realities of French immersion schooling, both teachers invited parents to participate in classroom and school activities, a cooperative venture which both teachers judged to be successful.

France. The majority of the students enrolled in France's grade 1 class at Hill Elementary School are from middle and upper-middle class English-speaking homes. France advised me that the majority of her students live in adjoining residential neighborhoods and are either bused in to school or driven to school by their parents. She typifies her students as "les favorisés." Her students, she said, come from homes where the parents are either professional or business executives, and who are financially well-off. She stated that some families have such things as two Jaguars and a Jeep in the garage and take all sorts of interesting trips, "Ici on pense qu'on est très haut. On l'est! Ce n'est pas tout le monde qui peuvent avoir, conduire deux Jaguars et un Jeep dans le garage." She foresees that her students will have more opportunities to use their French in the future than students enrolled in French immersion in the less favored areas of the greater Edmonton region. France predicted that her students will probably attend a French university, travel to French speaking regions or countries, and obtain good employment because they are bilingual. One day in class when France wrote the word PARIS on the board one young boy immediately recognized the place and exclaimed, "Oh! Of course! I've been to Paris, and you know what they have there? This great big tower...."

French Immersion Perceived as a Status Program. France supposes that because parents perceive themselves as being from a favored socio-economic class that their children should receive a prestigious or status type of education. On one occasion she outlined what she believed to be four main reasons why certain anglophone parents elect to enroll their children in French immersion: (1) For certain parents, she said, French immersion is a status program. If an anglophone knows a second language then others will view him as being something special, "C'est une affaire de statut. ... Mais ça va être un prestige! ... Il connait deux langues et il vient d'une famille anglophone." France senses that there is a sort of "peer pressure" among a certain class of English-speaking parents which causes them to place their children in French immersion. She sometimes overhears parents say to each other, "Why don't you put your kid in immersion?" (2) There are parents, France stated, who view French immersion in terms of upward social or economic mobility for their children. Such types of parents, she finds, become anxious or disappointed if their children do not achieve as well as they had anticipated. One such mother once told France, "Oh! I don't know what to do about that boy! I have such high hopes for him. If he knows French I am sure he will be able to get a position such and such." If such a child does not achieve as anticipated, France imagines that his parents must tell him, "I want you to do really well because you know how much this means to me." (3) France supposes that because certain parents view themselves as "les favorisés" that they also perceive their children as being intellectually gifted. She reported that she once heard a mother brag to another that her little girl was in French immersion because she was probably more intelligent than that other mother's child, "Oh! Ma petite fille va dans la classe d'immersion. Elle doit être plus intelligente que la tienne!" (4) France also believes that because certain parents do a lot of travelling that they see second language learning as necessary for their children.

France stated that she would like someone to conduct a longitudinal study in order to compare parental perspectives and students' perspectives of French immersion today in order to see what will happen to these students 20 years from now, "Ca serait intéressant, comparer la perspective des parents, de l'enfant, et puis de mettre tout cela ensemble. ... "

Unreasonable Parental Expectations. Parents, France has found, expect too much of French immersion, "Ils s'attendent que l'école leur donne absolument tout!" In French immersion, she advised, students are expected to cover the same subjects as students in the English program and parents expect their children to achieve as well as students in the regular English program, "Ils veulent que le rendement soit pareil." She argues that it is not possible for students in French immersion to excell in all areas of schooling, "Ce n'est pas possible!" because in French immersion students have to begin by learning a large amount of vocabulary before they are able to cover the same program of studies as students in the regular English program. She concludes that students in French immersion are expected to learn much faster than students in the English program, " ... mais on exige que les enfants apprennent plus vite parçe qu'ils apprennent le vocabulaire et il couvrent le même ... "

In French immersion, France stated, students are expected to cover the following: In mathematics, they cover exactly the same program as in English. The mathematics program has been translated from English to French, "On se sert exactement du même programme traduit en français." In social studies they have to cover more content than in the English program because they have to teach the students more vocabulary, including teaching them such basic phrases as how to ask for a piece of paper, "Il faut couvrir aussi tout le vocabulaire." As far as science is concerned, they cover the same program as in English but they also have to teach their students the necessary science vocabulary. In art and music they cover the same content in both programs. In the English program their language arts is based on the sight-reading method whereas in French immersion they use the phonetics approach, " ... Eux-autres prennent la méthode sight-reading et nous on enseigne la phonétique."

Negotiating Normative Definitions of Second Language Development. In December during parent-teacher interviews France was asked by certain anxious parents why their children were not yet reading. In order to justify her normative teaching practices France had to explain to these parents what she considers to be the principles and rules of second language teaching and learning in a French immersion situation. She began by asking them if when they were two years old if they could read or speak. Then she told them that it is the same thing in French immersion. She then tried to make the parents understand that before children can be taught to read they have to learn to listen then to speak and express themselves in French. Teaching students to read before they can express themselves or comprehend words, she told them, went against the rules and regulations of language learning.

> Il y en a beaucoup qui se demande pourquoi mon enfant ne lit pas encore. Bien je dis: Est-ce que ton enfant peut parler le français? "Quoi?" Ils ne savent pas ce qui vient en avant, mais je leur explique: Quand vous aviez deux ans, est-ce que vous pouviez lire? Est-ce que vous pouviez parler? Alors, c'est la même chose en immersion. On leur montre à écouter, à parler, à s'exprimer. C'est pas idiot, mais c'est contre la loi d'apprentissage. C'est contre les règles d'apprentissage quand on fait ça, leur montrer à lire avant qu'ils peuvent s'exprimer. Comment est-ce qu'ils peuvent voir un nouveau mot? S'ils voient le mot guitare, comment est-ce qu'ils peuvent dire que c'est une guitare? Même, ils vont dire c'est une guitare mais ils ne savent pas ce que c'est. A quoi ça sert lire s'ils ne peuvent pas comprendre?

Child Socialization Expectations. The grade 1 teacher perceives parents as wanting her to attend to their children's social and behavioral development. France has noted that parents want the school to teach their children to obey, "Les parents s'attendent a beaucoup ... qu'on leur montre l'obéissance." France talked about an experience she had with a mother whose son was a discipline problem at school. During an interview with the mother, France asked her if her son was a problem at home. The mother replied that he was but that she sent her son to school in the hope that the school could solve his social problems, "That's why he's coming to school." France told the mother, "I'm sorry! I can't do it all by myself!"

In her encounters with certain parents the grade 1 teacher has to try to negotiate or convince them that French immersion is much more than second language development. Some parents, she finds, do not seem to understand that helping students develop social skills such as sharing with others something meaningful to them while communicating in French is just as important as second language learning, "Ils ne comprennent pas l'aspect social de l'enfant, qu'il apprend quelque chose d'aller devant la classe et partager quelque chose de lui-même." Believing in the importance of helping students develop social and communication skills, France consistently uses a strategy she calls "le partage" (sharing) at the beginning of her social studies classes. During a parent-teacher interview France was quite surprised when a few parents made the following remark about "le partage." "Oh! Well! That is just show and tell!" A few parents added that it was just something to pass the time of day. France found herself having to negotiate with these parents the importance of teaching students tolerance for others and helping them to share, cooperate, and listen to what others have to say.

"Le partage" is an activity which lasts approximately 15 minutes. France begins by informing her students that it is time for "le partage." Four or five students will be called, one at the time, to come in front of the class in order to show the class a favorite toy or object and then to talk to the class about that toy or object. If a student does not have a toy or object, he or she can share with the class a lived experience. After a student has finished talking about something France tells the class that they can ask three questions to the student. An example of part of an episode of "le partage" is as follows:

Student in front of the class: "J'ai un auto que mon frère m'a donné pour moi."
S1. "Quand est-ce que tu joues avec ton auto?"

Student in front of the class: "Oui! Je joue avec le auto."
S2. "Où as-tu pris ça?"
Student in front of the class: "I got it for my birthday."
New student called to come up front.
France: "Tu as quelque chose?
Student in front of the class: "C'est un piano."
S1. "My sister has that."
France: "Tu vas jouer de la musique?"
Student in front of the class: "I got it from my auntie."
France: "For what? Pour ta fête?"
S2. "Est-ce que tu aimes?"
S3. "Est-ce que tu mets des bijoux dans la boîte?"
Student in front of the class: (could not hear responses)
S4. (Could not hear question).
France: "Quand c'est le temps de partager, il faut partager avec les oreilles! Elle a eu ça de sa tante. Bon! On a des bananes dans les oreilles aujourd'hui!"
S5. "Jouer du piano?"
France: (Assisting student with his sentence). "Est-ce que tu joues le piano?" (The episode continued).

Parental Involvement in Schooling. The grade 1 teacher perceives a relationship between the high degree of parental expectations and demands of French immersion schooling and the high degree of parental interest in their children's education.

Even though France sometimes finds herself having to negotiate with parents her definitions of French immersion schooling she is of the opinion that the majority of the parent-teacher interviews are generally positive meetings, "La plupart du temps c'est positif." France has observed that parental interest in their child's education is much greater in French immersion than it is in the regular English program of studies. Last year, France reported, 28 out of 30 parents visited her during the parent-teacher interviews whereas the teacher who taught the grade 1 English class received the visit of only 8 or 9 parents out of a total of 16 possible parents. This particular year out of the 16 grade 1 students France teaches in the morning class all 16 parents attended the first parent-teacher interview in December. In the afternoon class (France has 32 students) the same sixteen parents plus an additional six parents attended the parent-teacher interviews.

In an attempt to help parents understand the realities of classroom life in a French immersion situation France invites parents to help her in the classroom and to participate in organized classroom activities or festivities. She said some parents drop in at least once a week to help her, "Une fois par semaine les parents viennent." She added that she never has any problems in finding parents who are willing to volunteer for extra-curricular activities, "Et puis on n'a jamais de problèmes à avoir des volontaires pour des activités d'extras." For example, during the Saint-Catherine festivities ten parents participated with the grade 1 students in a taffy-pulling activity. From France's point of view, the parents really enjoyed themselves. Because parents cannot speak French, France finds that parents are generally relegated to helping the teacher to keep the students quiet, "Mais ils ne parlent pas le français. Leur aide est limité à garder les enfants tranquilles." This kind of participation, she pointed out, does not deter them from assisting in the classroom. During the project I observed parents dropping in after school and chatting with the grade 1 teacher. I noted one mother who picked up her daughter's worksheet from the desk and attempted, with a proud look on her face, to read out loud the words in French. She then looked up at France who told her that she had done well. The mother glanced at her daughter and smiled.

Marie. Marie's grade 2 students, like France's grade 1 students also come from middle and upper-middle class homes. During the project Marie typified her students as "les élites." She also perceived her students, because of their socio-economic backgrounds as probably having more opportunities to use French in the future than students from low-income homes. Marie has students in her class who do a fair amount of travelling with their parents. During the social studies project on "La Hollande" I noted that at least two students had visited that particular country. Marie also had a boy in her class who had attended the Quebec Carnaval the previous year with his parents and during the Carnaval festivities I noted that the boy shared his Carnaval experiences with the class, his Carnaval story books, and a record of songs on "Le Carnaval."

French Immersion Perceived as a Status Program. Marie did not elaborate to the same degree as France her perceptions as to why anglophone parents place their children in a French immersion program. She did state, however, that she assumes that underlying certain parents' decision to enroll their children in French immersion is a belief that because they are from an "élite" background their children are more intelligent than others or have a greater potential for learning French. Marie disagrees with this particular view, "Ce qui n'est pas vrai."

Unreasonable Parental Expectations. Marie, like France, also finds that parents' expectations and demands of French immersion schooling are unreasonable. Marie has noted that parents expect that their children will speak French with ease after spending a year in the French immersion program. She perceives such expectations as being too much to ask of students. She takes the position that in general, parents' expectations are too high therefore unreasonable as they also expect their children to achieve in all areas of schooling,

> Je dirais que les parents s'attendent que les enfants vont parler couramment le français dans très peu de temps. Ils croient que les enfants vont maîtriser bien des choses. Mais, ils exigent toujours que les enfants apprennent a parler la langue couramment apres un an dans le programme d'immersion ce qui est vraiment trop s'attendre des enfants. Je trouve que quelquefois les parents ont des attentes qui sont vraiment peu raisonnables. Quelquefois, je trouve très peu raisonnable des parents de s'attendre que les enfants, que leurs enfants peuvent faire tout, tout, tout dans le programme. Mais franchement, je trouve que les attentes sont un peu trop élevées!

Negotiating Normative Definitions of Second Language Learning. Marie sometimes has to explain or negotiate with parents her principles of second language teaching and learning. She has remarked that parents have a false conception of how children acquire and develop a second language. Parents, she has noticed, seem to believe that once something is presented to students in French that they will have mastered it. Marie has to try to make parents understand that language learning must proceed from a presentation, to an application of the vocabulary or concepts, and later on to mastery, "Ils ne semblent pas comprendre que tout apprentissage doit passer par la présentation, l'utilisation, et la maîtrise. ... "

Marie also has to convince anxious parents that not all students are at the same level of second language development. She has to explain to them that students have different needs, abilities, and potentials, "Alors là, tu essaies d'expliquer que différents enfants ont différents besoins." She also tells them that in her program she tries to meet individual student needs and levels. Some parents, she noticed, do not take into consideration their child's abilities when they expect him to attain a high level of performance, "Les parents, encore une fois, s'attendent que leurs enfants, et que chaque enfant doit donner une performance à un niveau très élevé. Je trouve que les attentes sont un peu élevées." She has observed, however, that once she has negotiated or explained to most parents her second language learning principles that some of them will lower their expectations, "Si tu leurs expliques qu'on ne maîtrise pas, et bien là ils changent un peu leurs attentes."

Expectations Concerning Child Socialization. In her references to parental expectations and demands of child socialization Marie referred to the case of Cindy-Lou which seemed to reflect her taken-for-grantedness that parents generally expect her to deal with their children's social and behavioral problems.

When Marie met Cindy-Lou's mother, who did not seem to be disturbed about her daughter's negative attitude toward schooling and learning, she was quite surprized and perplexed. According to Marie, Cindy-Lou does not want to learn, "Elle ne veut pas apprendre. Elle s'en fou!" Cindy-Lou, she stated, just sits on her back end and does nothing, "Elle va rester là sur ses grosses fesses à rien faire. ... Elle ne fait pas son travail!" When Marie discussed Cindy-Lou's behavioral and attitudinal problems with the mother, the mother insisted that her daughter liked French and that she did not want to withdraw her daughter from the French immersion program, "Par contre elle ne veut pas l'enlever du programme français parce que sa petite fille aime ça." Marie perceived a causal relationship between Cindy-Lou's attitude toward school and the mother's attitude. Marie added that Cindy-Lou's mother lets her do what she wants, "Alors, sa mère la gâte pas mal! ... Elle fait à peu près ce qu'elle veut." Marie found the whole situation very frustrating, "Mais c'est frustrant!" She responded to the situation by taking the attitude that she would not impose herself upon the girl, "Alors, moi je me dis je ne bucherai pas sur un enfant qui a une attitude comme ça, qui ne veut vraiment pas apprendre." On the March report card Marie had given Cindy-Lou "F"'s in most subjects (all failures) yet the girl's mother wrote on the back of the report card that she was happy with her daughter's progress, "Ils étaient très, très heureux du rapport!" Marie wondered if she was crazy or if it was the mother who was crazy, "Alors, tu te dis, bon bien, est-ce que c'est moi qui est folle ou est-ce que c'est la mère qui est folle?"

Parental Involvement in Schooling. At the beginning of the school year during the first parent-teacher interview all of Marie's grade 2 students' parents came to see her. From that period of time onward Marie met the parents on various occasions during classroom and school activities. At the last formal parent-teacher interview in March Marie reported that the parents did not come in, "J'en ai pas eu un cette fois ici." She did say that she received little notes and a few phone calls from parents who told her that they were very happy with their child's report card, "Ils étaient très, très, heureux du rapport!"

Because of the nature of the French immesion program Marie firmly believes in involving parents in their children's schooling. During the research project I observed that the parents were involved in the following types of activities: Several parents contributed a large number of objects and materials for the class project on "La Hollande." One father made a six foot tall cardboard windmill with working propeller blades for the project. Parents attended the Alberta 75th Anniversary school celebrations in order to examine the grade 2 students' exposition on Holland and to taste Dutch cheese. The students, I noticed, were quite excited as they prepared their costumes and displays for the exposition evening. During the Carnaval festivities several mothers helped the teachers to prepare the Carnaval dinner. Sometimes parents would drop in at the end of the social studies class and chat with Marie. On one occasion when Marie was cutting up a big pumpkin for Halloween I observed a mother wearing a white T-shirt with BONJOUR written on it who came to visit Marie. She spent some time watching Marie tansform the pumpkin into a Jack-O-Lantern then told Marie and the students that she was going to save her pumpkin seeds for them so that they could roast them.

When Marie asks parents to come in to help her she finds that she has to be well organized otherwise she is on pins and needles, " ... et ils arrivent et tu n'es pas organisée alors ça te tiens un peu sur les épines." Marie judged that parents really enjoy participating in school and classroom activities. When she invites them to assist her they are always more than pleased to help. She finds them to be fantastic and sees the need for immersion teachers to involve parents in their children's schooling, especially since the parents are already isolated because of the language of instruction, "Les parents sont toujours prêts à aider ... "

## Administrators' Expectations, Demands, and Perceptions

In their daily interactions with school administrators or administrative directives the two teachers sometimes encounter problematic and frustrating situations. From the two teachers' point of view, administrators view French immersion as a special program. As a consequence, administrative expectations, demands, and constraints are perceived by the two teachers as either being unreasonable or as limiting their curricular plans of action.

France. In her encounters with her school principal and school counsellor the grade 1 teacher has found herself having to negotiate her normative definitions of students' learning, behavioral, or attitudinal problems as not being causally related to second language learning.

Negotiating Definitions of Second Language Learning. The grade 1 teacher said that she really gets annoyed, "Ca me fâche!" with administrators who lack knowledge about second language learning in a French immersion situation and who perceive students' learning, behavioral, or attitudinal problems as being caused by the fact that the students are learning French. When she brings a student who is a discipline problem or has attitudinal, personal, or learning problems to see one of the administrators the first thing she is told is, "It must be the French," or she may be asked, "Well, are you sure it's not because he is trying to learn a different language." France recalled that the previous year, when she had failed three students, not because they were having difficulties learning French but because these students were quite immature, the first thing she was asked by the principal was, "Is it because of the French?" She had to try and convince him that the problems experienced by these students were not caused by the French. She said that she generally has to tell administrators that in French immersion, just like in the English program, students can experience all kinds of personal, emotional, attitudinal, behavioral and learning problems. She also has to explain to administrators that even children with lesser abilities can learn French, but maybe not as fast as those intellectually gifted, "Ils ne peuvent pas accelérer aussi vite que les enfants surdoués mais ça ne veut pas dire qu'ils ne peuvent pas apprendre la langue." Her experiences with administrators who associate all students' problems to "the French" instead of helping her resolve problems leaves France feeling isolated, "Tu sais, on est isolée!"

Marie. Marie did not make any reference to problems existing between herself and the school admininistrators. On different occasions during classroom observations the principal would drop into her class and chat with her about certain on-going school activities. During the Carnaval festivities, I noted that when the principal walked into the classroom he was wearing a traditional "ceinture flèchée," (a wide hand loomed waist tie belt generally worn by the French-Canadian voyageurs). He showed Marie a picture of the class taken with "Le Bonhomme Carnaval." I noted that Marie's situation became problematic in the spring when she was informed by school administrators of the forthcoming standardized tests.

Pressures Created by Standardized Tests. Marie advised that in May and June her students would be tested in French and English language arts, spelling, math, and science but that no tests would be given in social studies, " ... il n'y a pas d'examens pour les études sociales." She explained that the standardized tests were directly related to a variety of external expectations and demands of French immersion schooling. The school, she stated, expects that French immersion students are developing as proficient bilinguals and are also developing intellectually according to the norms achieved by students in the English program of studies.

Shortly before Easter, Marie told me that because of the tests she decided to discontinue teaching social studies in order to go back to her language arts and math program objectives as she had to assure herself that her students had mastered these objectives, "L'examen doit tester seulement ce que tu maîtrises à la deuxième année. Alors là, il faut que tu retournes à ton guide, à tes objectifs." She stated that she had to return "to bare facts, down to rock bottom basics" and leave aside the creative activities or frills, " ... tu dentelles tout ça!"

Marie perceived a causal relationship between the school system's lack of understanding of students' abilities and levels, and possible achievable goals in a French immersion situation, "Tandis que nous c'est le système qui dit: Tu dois enseigner ça, n'importe le niveau, n'importe la classe, n'importe le sorte d'élève que tu as." She was critical of the vocabulary used in the standardized tests which she said came from Ottawa. She suspected that the vocabulary in the tests may not have been taught to her students. She predicted that if a teacher has a class of gifted students then it is reasonable to expect that these students will succeed on the tests. Her main concern was that if the students did not succeed on the tests then the school board could interpret the failures as being attributable to the teacher when in fact the students' failures may be causally related to their learning abilities. She believes that if students do not succeed on these tests according to the norms then the teacher's reputation is at stake.

Testing, Marie said, creates many pressures on a teacher, " ... des pressions incroyables!" Near the end of April she complained that she was feeling depressed, pressured, and incompetent, "Alors, à ce temps ici de l'année je me sens toujours bien déprimée. Là, je me sens poussée. Je me sens incompétente." She associated her feelings of depression as being causally related to her perceptions of her students' attitudes toward learning. She judged that her students were not concerned about the seriousness of education, and decribed them as having the attitude that if they did not do something today they would do it tomorrow, or if they did not do it, it did not matter, "Et puis, je trouve qu'il n'y a pas de sérieusité. ... Si je ne le fais pas du tout, ça ne me fait rien!" She noticed that as her students had to work harder on language arts and maths that some of them were asking her why they were no longer doing interesting things in class. The forthcoming tests annoyed Marie and embittered her, "Et puis ça me, vraiment là, m'agace! Ca me rend aigri un peu." She perceived her students as making her nervous, to the point where she was beginning to feel that she could no longer stand them, "Je suis écoeurée! Je ne peux plus endurer les enfants! Ils m'énervent!"

### Teachers' Perceptions of Students in the English Program

France and Marie both identified a need to bring together students from the French immersion and English program in order to help them to understand that French immersion is a normative educational program and not a special program.

*France.* France told me that she is sometimes asked by the students from the English program in her school, "Why do you do such special things in class?" She replies that they do not do special things but that they do things in French, "On ne fait pas des affaires speciales. On fait des affaires en français." The children will then respond, "Well, my mom thinks that's special." She infers that anglophone students' perceptions of French immersion are strongly influenced by the home as she believes that grade 1 children have no prejudices, "Au niveau de la première ils n'ont pas de préjugés." In an attempt to develop tolerance and understanding between students in the English program and French immersion program France will sometimes compromise herself and bring her grade 1 class to see an English film which is being shown in the school, "Il faut être tolérant de plusieurs situations. ... C'est une décision au sens professionel. ... Oh! Les enfants vont y aller."

*Marie.* Marie stated that she likes to organize activities with the English program teacher at the same level which allow students from both programs to get to know each other so that when they meet in the playground they can play together, "Il se connaissent mieux comme ça. Dans le playground ils vont jouer ensemble." Marie said that she likes to combine the students from the integrated grade 1 and 2 English program with her own class for music. She judges this kind of cooperative activity with the English program students at the same level to be a successful activity.

## Perceptions of Colleagues

On different occasions the two teachers talked about how they perceived the attitude and actions of other teachers of French immersion. For example, they typified their colleagues as being apathetic toward curriculum development activities, and of not being supportive of each other's work. They also made a few comments about their perceptions of colleagues in the French immersion program or the English program which were unique to their situation.

France. In her encounters with colleagues during French immersion curriculum development or revision meetings France has found them to be apathetic toward curriculum development activities. She is also not in agreement with certain of her colleagues approaches to second language teaching.

Apathy Toward Social Studies Curriculum Development. The grade 1 teacher explained that her colleagues, who have had 5 to 6 years of teaching experience in French immersion are not willing to take on the responsibility of developing or revising the social studies curriculum or, for that matter, even in filling out evaluation sheets included at the end of a social studies teaching unit when they have finished teaching it. She feels annoyed, disgusted and disappointed with her colleagues apathy, "Je trouve que dans le groupe il existe beaucoup "d'apathy" entre les professeurs. Moi, ça me dégoute. ... Je suis vraiment déçue." Without the cooperation or feedback of the teachers, she feels that the school board social studies program for French immersion will remain a variety of pages of "little recipes" which have been haphazardly thrown together without a rationale, a logical sequence, and without any reflection, " ... d'avoir quelque chose qui n'a pas été pensée profondement, quelque chose qui manque, de la substance qui manque. ... Il n'y a pas de colle! Il n'y a rien qui met les choses ensembles." She therefore finds that the program no longer makes any sense as there is too much junk in it, "Parce qu'il y a trop de cochonneries là-dedans. ... "

France once stated that she felt that certain teachers of French immersion are spoiled as they are used to receiving all sorts of "recipes" or teacher-proof materials, "Les professeurs sont très gâtés! Ils sont habitués d'avoir tout dans le programme d'immersion." She perceived some of her colleagues as looking for "recipes" which do not require them to create and reflect. She gave the example that if there are 50 pages in a social studies unit then these teachers will begin with page 1 and cover all the pages until they reach page 50, "Ceux qui n'ont pas la créativité, ils s'attendent à des recettes. Tu commences à la page 1 et tu prends une demi-tasse de colle et puis tu ajoutes des élèves." Then, she added, they will complain that there was too much work to do in the unit, "Alors, ils arrivent avec 50 pages et puis ils vont faire 50 pages et ensuite ils vont se plaindre qu'il y a donc bien du travail dans cette unité là!" The teachers will also complain that they are tired of teaching so much vocabulary, "Ils sont tannés d'enseigner du vocabulaire." France said that she does not blame them for feeling this way but when they are given an opportunity to make changes to the curriculum she finds that they become apathetic, "Je ne les blâme pas d'être tannés mais il faut faire quelque chose. ... Si tu vas le faire, c'est une autre question."

France assumes that there is a causal relationship between her colleagues' apathy toward curriculum development and their lack of techniques or "know-how." She perceives them as being unable to relate resources and ideas to something concrete, "Je pense que les professeurs manquent de techniques pour enseigner le programme. Ils ne peuvent pas relier ça à quelque chose de concret." She supposes that maybe they have not received any formal social studies training. According to France, teachers who seek "recipe" knowledge are unable to make rational choices. They cannot choose from among alternatives or select the most salient points of a unit and disregard the rest of the unit. These types of teachers, she believes, cannot say to themselves such things as, "Non! Bien non! Je ne veux pas faire ceci! Je ne veux pas faire cela!"

Divergent Approaches to Second Language Teaching. In her encounters with certain colleagues France finds that their second language teaching practices are not substantively congruent with her own set of principles and beliefs about second language teaching.

France said that she was disturbed by the manner in which

French was being taught to kindergarten students, "C'est une chose qui m'agace, qui me tracasse de la maternelle." She advised that the majority of her present grade 1 students who had attended a French kindergarten had been taught vocabulary in French without being taught to use the proper masculine or feminine articles with the given words. She believes that it would not be any more difficult for children to learn to use an article with a noun or to learn a complete structure, "Ce n'est pas plus difficile d'enseigner à un enfant à dire: "J'ai fini." que de dire: "Fini!" ... Ils n'ont pas eu la structure qui dit: "J'ai fini." As a result, France said that she has to spend a good portion of her time helping students break the habit of using only a word. She finds that it is easier for students who have not attended kindergarten to learn a structure as they have not developed the bad habit of using only a word, "Pour ceux qui n'ont pas eu de maternelle ils apprennent plus facilement parce qu'ils ne sont pas dans l'habitude de dire: "chapeau" "manteau"... " In order to resolve this problem, she would like a line of communication to be established between the kindergarten teachers and the grade 1 teachers.

During classroom observations I noted that the grade 1 teacher always used an article with any word she used or when introducing her students to any new vocabulary. Once the vocabulary was introduced she would then get them to apply the words in a sentence structure. For example, during a social studies lesson in early November, France introduced the students to vocabulary for describing kitchen furniture and dishes. Using an overhead projector and pictures of objects to be found in the kitchen she would point to a picture and if the students did not know the name of the object she would use the structure, "C'est une nappe." or "Ce sont des verres." Then she would ask the students questions using the structure, "Qu'est-ce que c'est?" The students would then reply using the proper article, "Une fourchette." She would then ask a series of association questions in order to have students relate objects to their usages, "Qu'est-ce qu'on met sur la table?" The students responded to this series of questions using either an article and a word, or very short phrases.

The grade 1 teacher was also critical of immersion teachers who do not give their students opportunities to express themselves in French. She compared her own approach to second language teaching with the approach used by a colleague in an adjacent French immersion classroom. She stated that in her own class there was always some noise as she believes that it is of prime importance in French immersion for children to express themselves if they are to acquire the French language, "Il y a toujours un bruit dans la classe. Je crois qu'il faut qu'ils s'expriment. Comment vont-ils apprendre à s'exprimer en français si on ne leur donne pas la chance? ... " She explained that in the adjacent classroom the teacher insists that the students keep quiet as she wants complete silence in her class, "L'autre professeur à côté, ses étudiants sont tranquilles. Elle veut le silence dans la classe." She added that it was wrong not to let students express themselves, "Je ne crois pas que c'est bien. Les enfants doivent s'exprimer." I noted that the only time that it was absolutely quiet in France's class was when she explained an activity to her students or during "le partage." France generally assigned her students tasks, and while the students worked she would circulate among them and ask each student questions in French. The students answered either in French or in "franglais." The students were allowed to quietly talk to others while they worked, and they communicated among themselves in English or in "franglais." For example, one student would tell the other, "I couper." When France approached a student who was talking with his classmates in English she would say something to the effect of, "Qu'est-ce que tu dis?"

Marie. Like France, Marie also viewed her colleagues as complaining that the social studies units were overloaded, "C'est trop lourd! Il y a trop de choses à faire!" When given an opportunity to make changes, Marie found them to be apathetic. During the project Marie also talked about her perceptions of her colleagues in the English program.

Apathy Toward Social Studies Curriculum Development. The grade 2 teacher observed during curriculum revision committee meetings that when her colleagues were given an opportunity to cut down the social studies program's content that not one teacher wanted to admit that she did not have the time to complete a unit. As a result, Marie explained, more content was added to the existing social studies units, "Ce qui arrive c'est qu'il y a presque pas eu de choses d'enlevées dans le programme. On a tout laissé, même on a ajouté." Marie added that if the grade 3 teachers complain during the meetings that when students begin grade 3 they do not know such and such and state that these things should be taught to them in the preceding grades then more content is added in the units. Marie judged that this kind of behaviour must be natural, "Je ne sais pas pourquoi. C'est naturel, je pense." She stated that the teachers, including herself, find the program too difficult and assess that there is too much vocabulary to teach in the school board social studies units. If it was up to her, Marie said that she would take apart the social studies school board units and re-do them to meet the needs of a bilingual situation, "L'analyser, le déchiffrer, puis le refaire vraiment pour les programmes bilingues."

English Program Colleagues' Anxieties Toward French Immersion. Marie once stated that she sensed that the teachers involved in the English program, especially the older ones, feel threatened by the French immersion program. She said that she was of the opinion that these teachers are afraid to lose their jobs because of the growing demands for French immersion, "Les anglais, actuellement, se sentent coincés. Les professeurs les plus âgées, disons, ont bien peur à leur position et puis à leur sécurité."

In an attempt to develop a cooperative atmosphere in her school and to help bridge the gap between the French immersion and the English programs Marie likes to invite the teacher from the combined grade 1 and 2 English program and her students to participate with her and her class in joint activities such as field trips, and year end parties, "Alors, là, tu les invites à partager avec toi." She explained, "You're teaching basically the same concepts only in a different language so sometimes you just leave language aside for a few activities and do it with the other teacher at the same level." During the project I noted that Marie worked with the teachers from the English and French immersion programs in planning the Alberta 75th Anniversary open-house and also in organizing Carnaval activities. Marie said that she enjoyed participating with the teacher from the English program in joint activities, "C'est le fun!"

### Perceptions of Support Personnel and Services

Both teachers identified the need for a competent consultant or resource person who could help them in implementing the social studies curriculum in a French immersion situation. They also complained that they lacked suitable resources for teaching social studies in French and were critical of the English speaking librarians in their respective schools who were unable to help them in finding suitable French social studies resources. Even though both teachers have a teacher-aide who spends only half a day per week with them they seemed to be appreciative of this kind of assistance.

France. France perceived a certain relationship between the lack of human and material resources and her lack of commitment toward social studies implementation in a French immersion situation.

Perceptions of Resource Personnel. France explained that at the beginning of the school year a consultant drops in to meet the new teachers. A small conference is held after school during which time the consultant briefly refers to the programs and distributes curriculum guides and teaching units. According to France, this is all the help teachers receive from the consultant, "On ne nous donne pas plus d'aide que ça." She observed that during the conference one teacher asked the consultant how to do something and the consultant told her to look in the program documentation, "Comment est-ce qu'on fait ceci? ... La conseillère nous a regardés en pleine face et nous a dit: Regardez dans le livre."

Even though France had taught grade 1 French immersion the previous year she still finds social studies planning for French immersion to be a difficult task. Without the assistance of a competent consultant or resource person France feels alone, isolated, discouraged, disgusted and frustrated when faced with having to select and organize knowledge for her social studies curriculum, "Tu sais, on est isolées, découragées et dégoutées ... écoeurées et frustrées." She stated that without support or assistance a teacher will not venture to introduce a new curriculum or innovative ideas in her classroom, "Why should they try new things?"

To date, France has found that competent consultants for French immersion either at the school or school board level or at the Alberta Education level do not exist. As a consequence, she finds that teachers' reactions to the existing consultative personnel are negative as they will say such things as, "Oh! Her! Oh! Him! Tu sais, ils ne veulent plus en entendre parler de cette personne là." She assumes that maybe the present consultants are quite occupied with administative tasks and bureaucracy leaving them little time to actually study the programs and units, "Parce que nos conseillères sont très préoccupées avec la bureaucratie et puis les administrateurs, elles n'ont pas le temps d'étudier les unités."

France described what she would consider to be an ideal consultant or resource person. An ideal consultant, she said, should: a) know something about curriculum development; b) be able to write curriculum; c) have a strong background in child psychology and know something about what is important and of interest to children; d) have a strong background in the methods of the discipline; e) know the social studies program; f) be able to advise teachers where to go for certain resource materials; g) have teaching experience; h) be familiar with the on-going process of a classroom; i) be a good judge of character when helping teachers; j) be able to evaluate and recognize the strengths and the limits of a teacher; and, k) be able to suggest to a teacher what she should and should not try with children. France explained that an ideal consultant or resource person should be able to assist her in planning and organizing a social studies unit in the following manner:

> Disons que j'ai une unité sur n'importe quoi. Comme là, on travail sur l'unité, "Moi et mon corps." Je regarde dans mon unité et je dis: Bien! Vraiment, là! Je ne sais pas quoi faire! Et que je puisse aller voir cette personne là et puis dire: Eh! Bien! Coup donc! Às-tu un plan? Veux-tu m'aider à faire un plan, un plan d'action pour vraiment couvrir ce qu'il y a dans l'unité? Premièrement, il faut un plan parce que même si tu as un tas de matériel tu ne sais pas quoi faire avec alors ça ne vaut pas la peine. ... Une conseillère compétente qui veut vraiment nous aider nous dirait: Bon, pour ton unité de "la maison" il faut telles et telles choses. Ca ici ça marche avec les premières années.

Teachers, France added, need to have confidence in a consultant or resource person if curriculum implementation is to be a success, "S'il a confiance dans la personne ressource, ça va marcher."

Perceptions of In-Services. France feels that the in-service workshops she attended were not useful for her. She evaluated them as being meaningless and almost a waste of time, "Ah! Un autre in-service qui ne vaut pas grand chose! Oh! Ca ne vaut pas la peine! Pour moi ça ne veut plus rien dire!" In-service workshops, she explained, offer nothing concrete for the teacher who is looking for ideas with some meat in which she can sink her teeth, "Qui a de la viande dedans." What she finds depressing about in-services is that they are always being told that things will change again. Teachers, she said, cannot understand why social studies is always changing, "Les enseignants ne sont pas capables d'envisager pourquoi il y a tellement de changements."

Attitude Toward Lack of Resources. The only assistance which France mentioned that she received was from a teacher-aide who attends half a day per week in her class. During a classroom observation I noted that the teacher-aide played a French vocabulary game with a small group of children. On another occasion I observed France giving her instructions for finding resource materials in French on the topic of animals. Lacking support services and suitable social studies resources in French France said that she has to spend much time searching for resources. Her school librarian, she reported, cannot assist her as she cannot read or speak French. Lacking human and material support France perceives herself and other teachers as saying to themsevles that they will make the best out of the situation, "Oh! Bien! On va faire le mieux qu'on peu!"

Marie. Marie also assessed the consultants or resource people as being unable to meet teachers' social studies curricular needs. She stated that even though the consultants or resource persons are well intentioned, they cannot help her and other French immersion teachers with social studies implementation. Faced with the complex task of having to teach social studies in a French immersion situation, Marie said that she feels alone and isolated.

Attitudes Toward Social Studies Revisions. During the project I was invited by Marie to attend with her a school board French immersion curriculum committee meeting. The consultants were present at that meeting. During the meeting the teachers expressed that they were not satisfied with the existing social studies program as they felt that it did not meet French immersion students' needs. The teachers were told by the consultants that if they were not happy with the program then they would have to find ways of changing it by going through official channels. Marie asked the consultants for a more "tangible" program. One of the consultants told the teachers not to ask them to do another program, "Ne nous demandez pas d'en faire un autre." The day following the meeting Marie told me that at these meetings, which are called by the consultants, that even though the teachers raise problems and issues related to the curriculum for French immersion that no decisions are ever made to solve the problems and that nothing ever changes.

The Lack of Resources. On one occasion Marie talked about the amount of time she has to spend trying to find suitable resource materials in French. She criticized the fact that their school librarian cannot assist her because she cannot read French and does not know where to go for the resources. "Non seulement il nous manque des ressources mais aussi du personnel qui pourrait nous aider en études sociales. ... Nos bibliothécaires ne lisent pas le français et ne savent pas où aller pour les ressources." She added that if she taught social studies in English she could receive all kinds of assistance from the school librarian and that she would have access to a wide variety of resource materials in English.

Minimal Assistance From a Teacher-Aide. Marie has a teacher-aide who comes in approximately half a day per week. During several classroom observations I noticed that the teacher-aide was present. During "La Sainte- Catherine" classroom festivities the teacher-aide told the grade 2 students a story about the origins of "La Sainte-Catherine." When the students were working on the Holland project I observed the teacher-aide supervising a small group of students who were preparing a large map of Holland and a small group of students who were coloring a large flag of the Netherlands. Now and then I noticed that she would interrupt Marie during a lesson and ask for directions about what to do with such and such or she made comments on alternative ways to do things.

## Perceptions of the Formal Social Studies Curriculum

When the grade 1 and grade 2 teachers spoke about the social studies program, "le programme d'études sociales" they were referring to the Alberta Education documents, that is, either the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition, or the 1981 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, or their school board prepared teaching units which constituted the social studies program for French immersion. France would generally use the term, "le gros paquet" or "notre gros paquet" to describe her school board social studies units or program. Both teachers usually made a distinction between the formal social studies documents and their own personal social studies curriculum for classroom use by using the phrases, "mon programme," or "mes études sociales." In order to assure myself of the type of program the two teachers were talking about when they used the term, "le programme" I would always ask them to qualify the program they were referring to as follows: "Tu veux dire le guide du Ministère?" "Tu veux dire le programme ou les unités de ta division scolaire?" "Votre gros paquet, là?" During the project the teachers brought in with them during interviews the Alberta Education social studies curriculum guide and their school board social studies teaching units. They initiated topics in which they described their perceptions of the program's goals and they assessed its content.

### Lack of Commitment to Social Studies in French Immersion.

Both teachers informed me that they perceived the Alberta Education social studies curriculum as being too complex for the French immersion situation as students do not have the necessary vocabulary for dealing with the concepts. Because students do not have the necessary vocabulary and sentence structures, the two teachers predicted that the social studies' goals could not be implemented in a French immersion situation, "Je trouve que ces buts ne sont jamais acquis ou jamais complétés (Grade 2 teacher)." In French immersion, the teachers advised, social studies is not considered an essential subject like reading, writing and mathematics, "On doit laisser de côté les études sociales et prendre le temps pour un sujet core (Grade 2 teacher)." The grade 1 teacher explained that an immersion teacher has to forget the curriculum guide until students have developed vocabulary and language structures, "Il faut oublier le progamme des études sociales ... "

Trading-off Social Studies Goals for Second Language Development.

The teachers informed me that in French immersion it is a normative practice for teachers to trade-off certain educational goals in order to develop their students' oral communication skills. Social studies in French immersion, France stated, is the teaching of a heap or pile of vocabulary, "C'est pas vraiment les études sociales ... un tas de vocabulaire." Even though both teachers demonstrated a familiarity with the content and goals of the Alberta Education social studies curriculum, they reported that these themes were not completely covered in French immersion.

Concerning their school board social studies teaching units, the two teachers explained that some of these units have been translated from English to French with lists of vocabulary added on, whereas other units have been prepared specifically for the French immersion program. The two teachers perceived the teaching units as placing constraints upon their curricular actions as they are expected to cover all the vocabulary outlined in their grade level units, in any sequence they want using any preferred method.

France. During the project the grade 1 teacher, with the various social studies documents in hand, made evaluative comments. For example, she made the following commments about the three

Alberta Education grade I level themes:

Theme A: France stated that she would not teach Theme A, "Me as an Individual" (Alberta Education, 1978, p. 18) in her class even though she considers this to be a worthwhile theme for grade 1 students, "J'aime beaucoup cette unité. ... Ca vaut beaucoup ça! Je trouve qu'on commence très bien avec l'enfant en première année. On commence très, très bien!" She stated that if she would not be leaving her teaching position at the end of January that she probably would have started introducing this theme in her class.

Theme B: As far as Theme B, "Me and my Family" (1978, p. 19) is concerned, even though France said that she had no intention to teach this theme she believed that this theme would allow a teacher an opportunity to: study with her students the similarities and differences between families; have students bring pictures of their families to class so that they could examine each other's pictures and learn to appreciate and respect their differences; discuss with students what an individual can bring to his family and how he can help other members in his family; and, discuss with students how they can express their opinion as a member of a family.

Theme C: Theme C, "Canadian Families" (1978, p. 20) was judged by France as being too difficult for grade 1 students who cannot even begin to envisage a multicultural society unless there is a good representation of ethnic children in the same classroom or that they could actually see a Ukrainian, Chinese, or French person, " ... qu'il le voit réellement." She added that grade 1 children cannot conceptualize a country or even the concept of Edmonton as she believes that their spatial concepts do not go beyond their school and immediate neighborhood, "Ils n'ont même pas le concept plus grand que leur ècole et le petit voisinage. Ils ne peuvent pas voir ce grand pays là. Ca ne touche même pas la vie des enfants." According to France Theme C is not worth two cents, "Ca ne vaut pas deux cennes!" She stated that she personally would not be able to teach such a theme, "Je ne pourrais pas l'enseigner." If she had to teach it she said that she would do as little as possible with this theme, " ... aussi peu que possible ... " and would probably incorporate sections of the theme in her other units.

France was critical of the school board social studies teaching units. She judged them to be loaded with garbage, "des cochonneries" and assessed them as not even being worth two cents, "Ca ne vaut pas deux cennes!" She viewed the units as containing little substantive content and as being no more than little recipes designed to amuse students, "Est-ce qu'on fait ça seulement pour passer l'année? Est-ce qu'on veut vraiment que les enfants apprennent quelque chose?" The units, she said, need a goal, "Il faut avoir un but à ce qu'on fait." The problem with these units, she added, is that they are not designed to help children develop thinking skills. She is of the opinion that the unit developers probably assumed that children at the elementary level cannot "think." According to France, her students already have ideas about many things, "Les enfants sont pas portés à penser et on pense que c'est impossible au niveau élémentaire. Ca ne l'est pas parce que les enfants ont déjà une idée." She would like to see more problem solving activities included in the grade 1 social studies units.

Marie. During an interview Marie brought with her the Alberta Education social studies curriculum documents, and during the project she often talked about her school board social studies teaching units. She had the following comments to make about these various documents:

Alberta Education documents: Marie told me that their school board expects them to teach Theme A, "Exploring My Community" (1978, p. 22) in September and October but she found that she had very little time to cover this topic as there were school board units such as "L'automne," "L'Action de Grâce," (which takes her one to two weeks to cover), and "L'Hallowe'en," (which takes her about two weeks to cover). She explained that she was not able to begin teaching social studies until the end of September because of classroom scheduling and having to wait for resource materials. Marie stated that she was not able to cover the other themes, namely, Theme B, "Canadian Communities," and Theme C, "Neighborhoods Around the World" (1978, pp. 23 - 24) because the study of the function of a community contained complex vocabulary which has to be reduced by a teacher. Her greatest criticism of the Alberta Education social studies curriculum was that it was not developed for French immersion students but for anglophone students then translated into French. She would like to see the curriculum reduced for French immersion as she finds it too difficult, "Moi, je trouve ça trop difficile!" It is wishful thinking, she added, to believe that it is possible to cover all the suggested themes in French immersion, "Je pense des fois c'est pas mal l'idéalisme d'essayer de faire les thèmes dans le temps qu'ils nous suggèrent." She would like to see the three grade 2 themes analyzed and revised for the bilingual program.

The grade 2 teacher evaluated her school board social studies teaching units as being made up of a "hodge-podge" of unrelated bits of information, "un fouillis de toutes sortes de choses!" She was critical of the amount of vocabulary they are expected to teach. The units, she said, are overloaded with vocabulary and she finds that she has to hurry through the units, "Il y a beaucoup de choses à faire et puis on est toujours à la dépêche. ... Il y a tellement de choses!" She becomes frustrated with always having to teach vocabulary and she perceives the students as being saturated with vocabulary, "On vient frustrée à enseigner le vocabulaire. Toujours! Toujours! ... Alors, il vient un temps qu'ils sont saturés de vocabulaire." Having to cover so much vocabulary, she finds, leaves her with very little time to help students establish relationships between concepts and to study the interdependence between things, " ... c'est trop difficile d'établir la relation humaine et puis interworking among the things you have to teach. ... "

If it was up to her, Marie said that she would eliminate three quarters of her school board units in order to leave teachers with more time to help students develop concrete concepts based on daily events which the students can relate themselves to, "Je t'en assure que le trois quart, moi je les délaisserais!" She stated that she would include themes dealing with the playground, everyday things children do, even following elections, and themes to help students develop spatial concepts and to teach them vocabulary which could help them to understand how life and things function, and then getting them to apply their knowledge in other areas of life, "Enseigner beaucoup de choses, beaucoup de concepts spatiales, de vocabulaire de compréhension du fonctionnement de la vie et des choses et puis apprendre ça sous le thème et le mettre ailleurs."

## Summary of Elements Constituting Teachers' Definitions

From the topics initiated by the two teachers during the project the following complex interplay of external and internal elements were extrapolated from the data as constituting their schemes of definitions and interpretations of social studies teaching in a French immersion situation: their biographical and career experiences; the nature of the school setting; their perceptions of parental expectations and demands of French immersion schooling; their perceptions of administrators' expectations and demands of French immersion, and administrative directives (in the case of the grade 2 teacher, the school board tests); their perceptions of students in the English program; their perceptions of the lack of competent French speaking social studies consultants or resource persons who could help them implement social studies; the lack of French speaking librarians and the lack of suitable social studies resources in French; their perceptions of colleagues' attitudes and actions; and, the teachers' perceptions of the formal social studies prescriptions and of school board social studies teaching units.

The data suggest that a variety of internal and external elements appear to influence teachers' judgments, decisions, and actions which lead them to place a high priority on second language development goals in their social studies classroom curriculum.

1. The two teachers' early socialization seems to influence the high value they place on the French language.

2. The teachers' experiences with second language learning appear to influence their definitions of French immersion as a normative educational program and their interpretations of second language learning as being a normal state of affairs which students take-for-granted.

3. The teachers' lack of formal social studies training appears to limit their commitment to the social studies as they feel isolated and alone when faced with having to select and organize knowledge for their social studies curriculum.

4. Pressures coming from parents and school administrators who expect that students develop proficiency in the French language seem to influence teachers' decisions to focus on second language development goals when organizing their social studies curriculum.

5. The anglophone nature of the community and of the school setting appears to influence teachers' perceptions of the need to place a high priority on second language development.

6. The school board social studies teaching units, consultants directives, and other French immersion colleagues social studies perceptions appear to influence the teachers' normative definitions of social studies in French immersion as being vocabulary development, and their interpretations that social studies goals cannot be achieved in a French immersion situation because of

students' limited knowledge of the French language.

7. In the case of the grade 2 teacher the school board tests appeared to influence her decision to discontinue teaching social studies in order to place a greater emphasis on French language arts program objectives.

8. The teachers' perceptions of the lack of competent social studies consultants and resource personnel who could assist them in implementing social studies and the lack of suitable social studies resources in French seemed to limit their commitment to the social studies' goals and content.

9. The teachers' interactions with students who have a limited knowledge of the French language appear to influence their decisions to place an emphasis on second language development activities when planning their social studies curriculum.

10. The teachers' sets of meanings and emotional responses to a variety of situations acquired over a life-time influence their typificatory schemes of students' needs, abilities and potentials, and their subject and pedagogical practices related to second language teaching and learning.

## FITTING TOGETHER PROSPECTIVE LINES OF ACTION

When the teachers talked about their proposed lines of action for social studies teaching they noted, judged, and assessed the possibilities of the French immersion situation based on the sets of meanings and schemes of interpretations they already possessed. In noting, judging, and assessing the possibilities of the French immersion situation they also had to take into consideration their interpretations of the expectations, demands, constraints, and on-going activities of significant others and their interpretations of the outcome of negotiating with significant others encountered in the school setting.

In the previous section a complex interplay of external and internal elements were drawn together which appear to constitute the two teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations of the French immersion situation underlying their curricular judgments, decisions, and actions. The teachers' decisions to trade-off social studies goals in order to place a high priority on second language development no doubt are influenced by a complex interplay of external and internal expectations, demands, constraints, and the on-going activities of others. In this section, examples and illustrations are provided which attempt to portray the social studies knowledge and classroom learning experiences which the two teachers selected and attempted to fit together in order to achieve their second language development goals and their child socialization goals. Further examples and illustrations are provided which suggest that in the process of interacting and negotiating with students the two teachers' were faced with having to fit their proposed lines of action for social studies teaching to the on-going activities, expectations and demands of their students through a process of negotiation and making trade-offs.

## The Knowledge Source for a Classroom Social Studies Curriculum

The main source of knowledge for the content of the two teachers' social studies classroom curriculum was selected by them not from the Alberta Education social studies curriculum document, but rather from their school board social studies teaching units with the exception of a short unit on "Le cirque" which the grade 1 teacher developed from a spontaneous classroom activity, and a unit on "La Hollande" which the grade 2 teacher developed for the Alberta 75th Anniversary. The teachers' basic source of knowledge for a social studies classroom curriculum suggests that their curricular decisions were strongly influenced by school administrators and resource personnel's expectations and directives. The social studies teaching units taught by the two teachers during the project were the following:

France. From a possibility of approximately fourteen grade 1 school board social studies teaching units the grade 1 teacher elected to teach the following units or certain aspects of such units as: "La maison," a unit which she taught in October and November. She felt that she had to spend much more time on this unit than anticipated. Also in October and November she covered short units on "L'Action de Grâce," and "La Sainte-Catherine." In December she covered the winter part of a unit on "Les saisons," and also a short unit on "Les valeurs de Noël." She elected not to teach a unit on "La classe." "Les vêtements" is a unit she spent only three days teaching because when she found that her students were not interested in the unit and that she personally was not interested in the unit, she decided to discontinue teaching it. When the grade 1 teacher left her teaching position because of pregnancy at the end of January she had not covered units such as: "Moi et mon corps," "Moi et mes sentiments," "La nutrition," "La famille," "La Sainte Valentin," "Pâques," and "La cabane à sucre." In January, prior to leaving her teaching position France developed a short unit on "Le cirque," a topic which was of interest to her students. The students had read a story about jungle animals and wanted to discuss the subject further. France therefore prepared a unit on the subject.

Marie. During the project the grade 2 teacher selected and taught the following themes or topics which originated from her school board social studies teaching units:

In October she began teaching social studies with a theme on fall based on the teaching unit of "Les saisons." She also covered short units on "L'Action de Grâce," "La Sainte-Catherine," and "La fête de Boukinou," a short unit designed to help students talk about their birthdays. In November she began a unit on "Rules and Regulations in School" which she then left aside in order to prepare the "Holland" project for the Alberta 75th Anniversary celebrations and she returned to the unit on "Rules and Regulations" in January.

In November Marie set aside her school board social studies teaching units and developed her own unit on "La Hollande" for the Alberta 75th Anniversary celebrations. She said that she had selected to study Holland with her students because in her class she has a few students of Dutch descent, some of whom had visited Holland and others who had relatives in Holland, "Le pays choisi est relatif aux élèves ici. J'ai opté pour la Hollande. Quatre à cinq de mes étudiants ont des grandparents Hollandais." Marie perceived her students as being excited and enthusiastic about the project, "Les enfants sont pas mal excités! Ils sont bien enthousiasmés."

In December, Marie introduced a short unit in her class on "Noël." In January, in conjunction with other teachers in her school she developed a short unit on "Le Carnaval." "Le Carnaval" is an important school celebration. Later on in January she began teaching a school board social studies unit on "Une promenade dans la communauté" which lasted until about mid-April when she discontinued teaching social studies in order to prepare her students for the school board tests. She divided her unit on "Une promenade dans la communauté" into sub-themes such as observing the immediate environment which she covered in January and February. Also in February she had the students working on directions in the immediate neighborhood. In mid-March she introduced "La securité" in class. She said that she selected this particular topic because her students were beginning to take their bikes out for the spring season and she wanted to cover with them the rules and regulations of bicycle riding on city streets and the dangers inherent in using a bicycle in traffic, "Alors, c'est vraiment le temps, là, de renouveller ce qu'on sait, ce qu'on connait des règles de sécurité." In March she also covered a sub-theme on reading and interpreting legends and symbols on maps and she introduced them to map construction. In early April she had the students read and interpet maps and legends of the City of Edmonton and the Peace River Alberta Townsite.

## The Classroom Atmosphere, a Reflection of Social Studies.

During the research project I noted that both teachers' classroom atmosphere generally reflected some of the social studies topics or themes being studied. The classroom displays provided me with clues as to the types of activities the teachers were involving their students in as a means of fitting together the social studies content with classroom learning experiences. The following illustrations of the displays I saw in the classrooms suggest that even though the teachers may have used their school board social studies teaching units as a source of knowledge for their classroom curriculum, that in planning proposed lines of action for social studies teaching they had to fit such elements as their students' interests, needs, and abilities to the content of the social studies.

France. The student prepared and teacher prepared displays described in the following paragraphs are indicative that France elected to involve her students in art related activities in order to deal with the content of her social studies units. She once told me that when she selected a theme or unit, her major preoccupation was to select a topic or theme which she judged to be of interest and relevant to her students.

For example, in early October the grade 1 classroom took on a fall atmosphere. Large colorful leaves prepared by the students were placed on the north classroom wall tack-board. This particular display was related to a social studies unit on "Les saisons." When the grade 1 teacher commenced teaching her social studies unit on "La maison" in mid-October I noted three large white 6' x 3' sheets of paper covered with students' drawings of houses and apartment buildings of different shapes and sizes which were displayed across the top of the classroom windows which ran the length of the classroom. Other drawings on these sheets included a group of adults and children standing by the sea watching ships of different sizes and shapes go by, and one sheet was decorated with the students' interpretations of rocket ships flying through space. The students' posters suggest that France believes in actively involving her students in art related learning experiences in order to maintain their interest.

Near the end of October France introduced a short social studies unit on Halloween and the classroom was decorated with large commercial pictures of a witch and other stereotype characters which she told me she had purchased at a teachers' supply store. Various tack-boards in different areas of the classroom were also covered with students' art work such as pumpkins, witches, black cats, and others.

In December, France covered a social studies unit on "L'hiver" and a mini-unit on "Noël." Her classroom became transformed into a winter and Christmas scene. Large life-sized teacher prepared posters of the "Bonhomme de Neige" and "Père Noël" were added to the north wall. On the 1st day of December five large four pointed snowflakes prepared by the students replaced the modes of living posters on the windows. Eventually six pointed snowflakes were affixed on the windows next to the five four pointed snowflakes. I had observed that the day the students were cutting out their six pointed snowflakes that large snowflakes were softly falling outdoors. The students were excited and anxious to get outdoors and play in the snow. They talked about building a snow fort and then having a snow fight with the boys against the girls.

In mid-December I noted that the students were working on a joint Christmas poster project. Large white sheets of paper covered with students' drawings of Christmas trees, toys, stars, snowmen, candy canes, and other decorations were spread down the aisle of the resource and listening center which was located in a corner near the outside classroom windows. These large sheets were eventually affixed across the outside windows. On the counter top underneath the classroom windows I could see several empty tomato juice tins which had been partially decorated with different strands of colored wool. France told me that her students were in the process of preparing Christmas card holders which were to be given as a surprise gift to their parents.

In January, France began a social studies unit on "Le cirque." I noted that commercially made posters of wild animals and Disneyland animal characters decorated the class. A long green papier maché snake prepared by the students occupied the top of the shelves underneath the classroom windows.

Marie. The displays in the grade 2 classroom reflected the social studies units covered by Marie during the project. Art activities and some group work appeared to be a few of the means selected by her in order to teach the content of her social studies curriculum in a manner which would be of interest to her students.

In November, when Marie introduced her project on Holland her classroom was transformed into a miniature country. In a corner of the classroom stood a large 6 foot tall cardboard windmill which a parent had constructed. The windmill's propeller blades actually turned. Potato drawings of tulips and windmills prepared by the students were strung across a clothesline which ran the whole length of the classoom, parallel to the classroom windows. All the counter tops underneath the classroom windows and all the tables in the classroom were covered with a large variety of Dutch figurines, hand painted dishes, Dutch dolls in traditional costumes, and other objects and pictures of Holland. Wooden Dutch shoes were affixed against a tack board, and some walls were covered with blue hand-painted white table napkins. A large map and flag of the Netherlands prepared by the students as part of a group project were displayed against the east classroom wall.

By December the Holland display was replaced with other displays from themes being studied in other subjects. In mid-February when Marie introduced her social studies unit on "Le Carnaval" the classroom took on a winter carnaval scene. A big beautiful white styrofoam ice palace built by the students as a group project occupied a corner of the classroom. Little snowmen prepared by the students were strung across the clothesline. Up against the west wall a large teacher prepared poster of the "Bonhomme de Neige" was added, and next to it was a story in large printed letters. During a classroom observation Marie had the students learn this particular story as they were to recite it at the Carnaval dinner.

I noted during my last classroom observation in April, before Marie discontinued teaching social studies that the room was beginning to take on an Easter atmosphere. On one side of the classroom I noticed large tinker toys which were used to represent street crossings. There were also some road signs included. This display formed part of Marie's social studies sub-unit on "La sécurité." She told me during a previous interview that when the students entered the room in the morning she would give them a set of directions which they had to follow while paying attention to the street signs. She stated that if she gave students opportunities to manipulate objects then learning would be more concrete and lasting.

During classroom observations I noted that the students enjoyed displaying their drawings in the classroom or working on classroom displays. There were always a few students who would come up to me and proudly pointing their fingers to a classroom display they would tell me, "Look what I made!" or they would take my hand and want me to go with them toward a display board where they would place a finger on a drawing and looking up at me with a smile on their face they would say, "This one is mine!"

## Planning Procedures, Processes, and Decisions

When planning a prospective line of action for social studies teaching I noted that once the two teachers had selected a school board social studies unit or theme they proceeded to fit their own proposed lines of action or second language development goals and child socialization goals to their conception of students' expectations, demands, and on-going activities. There were many similarities between the two teachers' planning procedures and decisions. For example,

1. The two teachers selected content or units which they

judged would be relevant and of interest to their students.

2. They made judgments as to the usefulness of a unit or theme for developing their students' vocabulary and their second language skills.

3. The question of finding suitable resources in French seemed to preoccupy them once they had selected a unit or theme.

4. They then made decisions about what aspects of the unit they would use, adapt, or reject and the pedagogical means they would use to help their students acquire vocabulary and to apply their newly acquired vocabulary in different situations.

5. They made decisions about how they would begin and end their unit, and they made predictions as to the amount of time it would take them to cover the unit or certain aspects of their unit. The grade 1 teacher stated that she devoted approximately 240 minutes per week to social studies teaching. The grade 2 teacher did not specify the amount of time per week she taught social studies but during the duration of the project I noted that she usually taught social studies on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 10:40 - 11:40 a.m. and that whenever the students had a task to complete she taught social studies either that same afternoon or on another day.

6. The teachers, who explained that they did not know what the best methods are for French immersion, perceived their social studies classroom curriculum as having to come from their head, "fouiller dans notre tête" (Grade 1 teacher), "Il faut que tout ce qu'on fait en études sociales sort de la tête du prof" (Grade 2 teacher). The grade 2 teacher added that she prefers to make her own

social studies choices and set her own limits, "Mais moi, j'aime mieux faire mon études sociales comme je le veux." Her choices, she remarked, are based on her perception of her students' needs and her assessment of their milieu, "C'est mon choix, mais c'est mon choix par rapport avec les élèves et puis encore à toute la vie autour d'eux. C'est moi qui me mets mes limites."

7. The teachers made decisions about the means and strategies they would use to develop their students' social and personal life skills.

Once the two teachers attempted to fit their proposed lines of action for social studies teaching to the expectations, needs, demands and on-going activities of their students they were sometimes faced with having to negotiate with their students their social studies classroom curriculum. After having entered into negotiation with their students the teachers were faced with either having to evaluate and revise their resource materials, their teaching methods and strategies, their classroom activities, or to trade-off certain of their proposed second language development goals in order to attend either to students' interests, levels of intellectual or linguistic abilities, or their social and personal needs.

In the remaining part of this chapter examples and illustrations are provided which attempt to portray how two early elementary teachers of French immersion perceived themselves as organizing lines of action for social studies teaching, and their interpretations of how they attempted to fit their prospective lines of action for social studies teaching to meet a complex interplay of external and internal expectations and demands, and on-going students' activities.

## France's Perceptions of Social Studies Planning and Teaching.

Long Term Planning. France favours long term unit planning in order to integrate her proposed goals into a whole, "Il faut faire ça à long terme." Without long term planning, she finds that teaching and learning can become piecemeal, "Des petits snacks." She stated that a teacher must be able to assess students' interests and needs and must have goals, "Il faut avoir un but à ce qu'on fait."

Interest Criterion Underlying Knowledge Selection. When selecting and organizing knowledge for social studies teaching France explained that she begins by asking herself if a unit or topic, or the content will be of interest to her students, "Premièrement, c'est d'intéresser les élèves, okay! D'avoir leur attention!" She said that the way she tries to judge whether a unit or theme will be of interest to her students is by attempting to place herself in their situation and to look at a unit or theme from their point of view, "J'essaie de me mettre dans leurs bottes." Also, she predicts that if a unit is of no interest to her then it will not be of interest to her students, "Quand je dis que ce n'est pas intéressant pour moi, ça ne peut pas l'être pour eux." Another strategy she uses in order to find out what is relevant to students is to listen to them as they talk among themselves.

Possibly because of the pressures arising from school administrators and resource personnel that the vocabulary in the social studies teaching units must be covered, France told me that if she judges that the vocabulary in a particular unit has to be covered, then she may decide to trade-off her interest criterion, "Il faut leur apprendre tellement de vocabulaire qu'il faut toucher à ces petites unités là, même si on n'aime pas tellement les faire." Faced with such a situation, she said that she may decide to cut out certain parts of the teaching unit and adapt it to make it more interesting for her students.

**Second Language Development Criterion Underlying Knowledge Selection.** France reported that her second major consideration when planning her social studies is to select a unit or theme which will allow her to teach her students vocabulary so that at the end of a unit they will be able to talk to her about certain things related to the topic in French, "Deuxièment, c'est d'enseigner le vocabulaire. ... mais à la fin de l'unité s'ils vont être capable de me dire ... en français." At the same time she likes to get her students to learn something not just "for the heck of it," as she put it, but something which will be useful to them later on in life.

**Trading-Off Social Studies Goals For Second Language Development.** France told me that in French immersion a teacher has to make trade-offs. For example, she said that in social studies a teacher has to neglect the teaching of values because students cannot state their preferences in French or carry on a discussion until they have vocabulary and a language structure to express themselves, "Oublier complètement qu'il faut enseigner des valeurs, des choses comme ça ... avant que les elèves aient une structure dans laquelle ils peuvent s'exprimer." In French immersion, she added, a teacher has to forget the social studies program, "Il faut oublier le programme des études sociales."

According to France, at the beginning of the year her students have very little knowledge of the French language and by the end of the year she expects that they will be able to formulate questions in French using the acquired vocabulary and sentence structures, "On commence avec à rien et on espère arriver avec des questions." Firstly, she said, students must learn to listen so that they can hear the sounds in French, then they must be able to repeat the words in French. She assumes that before the students can communicate in French they have to interiorize the language, that is, language has to become automatic for them. She has found that before sentences become automatic in French students have to go through what she calls a "franglais" stage, "Il faut qu'ils l'intériorisent avant que ça soit automatique. Ca devient automatique parce qu'ils vont déjà demander avec des phrases en franglais. Ils sont mélangés."

France explained that it is not until March that the students can begin to express themselves in French using the structures acquired, " ... parce qu'on ne peut pas discuter ça avant le mois de mars...." According to France, it takes approximately 6 to 8 months before the students' responses become spontaneous in French, "Ca prend 6 à 8 mois pour que ça devienne spontané." Prior to that period of time the students will say things to her in "franglais" such as, "Oh! I hurt my jambe!" "Oh! I lost my crayon!" "I don't have a gomme to effacer!" Because of the students' limited knowledge of the French language France believes that whatever social studies is taught in French immersion it has to be made up of simple vocabulary and sentence structures before concepts can be developed, "Il faut passer beaucoup de temps à développer le vocabulaire des enfants. C'est très difficile avec les premières années de développer des concepts." Social studies, she added, even incorporates teaching students directions for coloring, cutting, and asking for things in French, a task which does not have to be undertaken when teaching in English, "Il faut passer beaucoup de temps leur apprendre des mots afin qu'ils puissent comprendre les directives. ... découper, colorier, et coller. ... Sur le côté anglais on peut oublier tout ça."

When planning prospective lines of action for social studies teaching France explained that she tries to select words or vocabulary students can relate themselves to, that is, words that they can understand and that they will eventually be able to use when communicating in French about what certain things mean to them. She also elects to teach students words in short phrases which will allow them to begin expressing themselves, " ... inclure des petits mots dans la phrase pour s'exprimer ... "

Selecting and Organizing Activities for Second Language Development. When planning a line of action for social studies teaching France selected teaching strategies and organized learning activities and resource materials which she believed would help her students develop their French language skills. Her decision to select and organize second language development activities appeared to be influenced by her notions of causal relationships between immersion students' linguistic abilities and needs and possible achievable goals in a French immersion situation combined with her perceptions of external pressures to develop students' vocabulary, and her subject and pedagogical know-how of means and ends relationships.

When France talked about her proposed social studies unit on "La maison" she stated that she planned to teach vocabulary and have the students apply their newly acquired vocabulary in discussions. She said that she planned to develop her students' vocabulary by using pictures, bingo games, the listening center, and by getting students to repeat sentences and to work on classification exercises. Once they had acquired the vocabulary she then proposed to get them to state their preferences of things they liked and disliked in a house. She added that she would give the students a drawing activity and this would enable her to circulate among them and ask them questions about their preferences.

During a classroom observation near the end of October I noted that France was teaching a lesson taken from her unit on "La maison." She showed her students overhead pictures of furniture to be found in a house. She would point to a piece of furniture on the overhead and the students would respond in a chorus, "C'est ... " After viewing the overhead pictures France distributed two activity sheets to the students. These activity sheets contained pictures of furniture to be found in a living room. She then gave the students instructions in French and in the process stressed the words "colorer" and "couper." In order to verify if her students understood the task she asked them questions such as: "Qu'est-ce que tu fais après que tu as fini?" The instructions which followed were bilingual and France kept on stressing certain words in French. She would then repeat the same sentence in French. Once the activity sheets were handed out the students were given a pair of scissors and began their work. They colored the pictures of living room furniture then they cut them out. France circulated among the students and would ask a student a question such as: "Où sont tes crayons de couleurs?" When a student wanted something she would help him or her to formulate a question in French by saying, "Je veux ... " The student would then repeat. She continued going from one student to the next. Some of the questions she asked individuals included: "Tu as fini?" "De quelle couleur?" "Tu as un tapis comme ça à la maison?" "Est-ce que tu as un foyer?" "De quelle couleur?" "Un têléviseur sa rhyme avec fleur." Sometimes she would give students directions such as: "Donne les sciseaux à ... " The students who had completed cutting out and coloring their pictures then proceeded to glue them in a handmade scrap book. France then verified their work and praised them, "Regarde si c'est bien fait!" The lesson segment continued until recess.

By early November during a social studies classroom observation, I noted that France introduced the kitchen as part of her unit on "La maison." Once again, using an overhead projector she introduced new vocabulary as she pointed to objects to be found in the kitchen. At the beginning of the segment she formulated her questions in such a way that students were able to apply the vocabulary which they had previously learned. She began by explaining to the students that they had studied other rooms in a house such as the living room and the bedroom, and that now they would be studying the kitchen. She asked them: "Qu'est-ce qu'on fait dans la cuisine? Est-ce qu'on dort?" She then asked a series of questions about what one must do before eating, "Quelle autre chose est-ce qu'on va faire dans la cuisine avant de manger?" Some of the students' responses were as follows:

S1. "Vaiselles.
France: "Yes, but there is a whole bunch of things you must do before eating."
S2. "Laver."

The short segment continued in English. France noted that she was unable to get them to say in French that before eating your food you must wash it and cook it. She quickly ended this segment of the lesson and then went on to show them pictures of objects to be found in the kitchen, "Voici ce qu'il y a dans la cuisine. Il y a de grands mots. Voici ce qu'il y a dans la cuisine" (showing pictures). The following lesson segment provides us with an illustration of France's approach to vocabulary development:

Ss. "Un chat." "La maman." "Un chien."
France: "C'est ... ?" (showing an object)
S1: "Une soeur."
France: "Soeur commence avec S. La maman commence avec un M. Le chat commence avec?"

The segment continued with France pointing to an object, the students responded using a word and its appropriate article, and then France asking the students to identify the beginning letter and sound for the objects. Eventually she introduced the word, "réfrigérateur" and then asked them a few questions about the usage of a fridge,

France: "Est-ce qu'il fait chaud ou froid?"
Ss. "Froid."
France: "Est-ce que ta maman met du pain dans le réfrigérateur? Est-ce qu'on met des boîtes de Kellog Rice Krispies?"
Ss. "Non!"

In the short segment which followed France reviewed all the vocabulary introduced by going back to the overhead and pointing at the various objects in the kitchen.

Ss. "C'est une nappe. C'est une chaise. C'est un grille pain.
France: "Qu'est-ce qu'on met dans un grille pain?"
Ss. "Du pain."
France: "Oh! Voici les choses qu'on peut boire. Est-ce qu'on mange une tasse?"
Ss. "Non!"
France: "On boit dans une tasse. C'est une tasse. K____ est-ce que tu sais ce que ce sont? On met du lait, du jus?"
K. "Des verres.
France: "Ce sont des verres? Qu'est-ce que se sont?
Ss. "Des verres."

The lesson segment continued as France covered all the objects. She also continued asking students questions about the usage of these objects.

In a further social studies classroom observation in mid-November France had students color, cut, and glue pictures of objects to be found in the bathroom. Once again she circulated among the students and asked them association questions and questions allowing them to apply the vocabulary learned in previous lessons. She also asked them a few questions about what they liked and disliked about the objects in the bathroom at home or she just made comments about their work. A sample of her comments and questions is as follows: "Est-ce que ceci va dans la salle de bain?" "Est-ce que le bureau va dans la salle de bain?" "Le lit va dans la salle de bain?" "Mon Dieu! Tu as un beau peigne orange et brun!" "Il y a du papier de toilette violet à la maison?" (The student had colored the toilet paper violet). "Tu as une belle salle de bain, toi!" "Tu peux dessiner une brosse à dents?"

Second Language Teaching Strategies. I had observed during classroom observations that when France introduced new vocabulary for talking about objects to be found in the different rooms of a house that the students would repeat after her in a chorus the words and sentences she used. She informed me that in her second language teaching strategies she tries to limit this type of repetitive approach to second language learning. She typified students as being like sheep, "des moutons," and that when they repeat they will imitate a group leader's errors. She finds that when students repeat as a group that it is difficult for her to correct each individual's errors. She then went on to explain that the students need a good language "model" if they are to learn to speak French in a spontaneous manner, "Je pense que les enfants pour apprendre une langue ont besoin d'un modèle qui connait assez bien la langue ... "

In her experiences with students during her career as a teacher, France said that she has observed that the teacher of a second language is like a mirror for students. They will look at the teacher, the teacher will say something and the students will repeat, "Alors, on est comme un genre de miroir pour eux. Ils vont nous regarder, on va leur dire quelque chose, et puis ils vont être capable de répéter."

According to the France, French immersion students need to learn to assimilate sounds in French because if they do not hear the sounds they will not be able to repeat the words. She finds that there are types of students for whom language learning is not as spontaneous as it is for others. These types of students, she explained, need more time than others to repeat and say things, "S'ils ne sont pas capable de répéter, il faut leur donner plus de temps et plus de chances à dire. Ca ne vient pas spontanément avec certains élèves." She therefore finds it necessary when selecting her teaching strategies to include listening and repeating activities in order to give students as many opportunities as possible to interiorize the sounds.

For anglophone children, France has found that there are certain French sounds which are difficult for them as these sounds do not exist in English. These students, she finds, also need to learn how to form their mouths in order to utter certain French sounds, "Puis ils forment leurs bouches parce qu'il y a certains sons en français qu'ils n'ont pas en anglais." Based on her assessment of her students' linguistic needs, France finds herself having to trade-off certain social studies activities she would like to do in order to develop her students listening and speaking skills, "Mais, il faut éliminer beaucoup de choses qu'on aimerait faire."

Art Activities and Songs Used as a Means to Develop Vocabulary. Whenever France talked about her proposed plans for social studies teaching she always mentioned that she would include art activities and songs in order to help her students develop their French vocabulary.

When teaching her unit on the seasons France included both art activities and songs. For example, during a classroom observation I noted that in order to accompany the art activity of snowflake cutting that she taught her students the song, "Il neige! Il neige!" and had them use appropriate gestures while singing. I observed an interesting classroom incident in which three students decided to apply their newly learned vocabulary, "Il neige!" in a rather unique and hilarious manner. The students had spent some time making their six-pointed snowflakes when suddenly a young boy stood up on his chair and started throwing up in the air his white paper cuttings, and as the bits and pieces of white paper started flying around the classroom he called out, "Il neige! Il neige! Snowflakes coming down!" Two other boys soon imitated him. France quickly ended their experience in vocabulary application.

Reading and Writing in Social Studies. During the project I noted that when the grade 1 teacher talked about her proposed social studies plans of action that she never mentioned developing her students reading and writing skills. When I questioned her on the topic she informed me that in social studies they rarely do any reading because before students can read they have to develop their hearing and speaking skills. In French immersion, France explained, the emphasis is placed on developing students' listening and speaking skills, "On met l'emphase sur l'écoute et sur le parler." She added that the words have to be meaningful to students in French before they can relate the oral words learned in class to the reading text. She stated that it is only after December that students begin to read using the phonetic method. There is no memorization work and no sight work, she added. Students, she believes, learn to recognize certain words by sight but she does not use a sight reading method herself. "Après le mois de décembre on commence à lire. ... "

In October during a lesson on "La maison" I noted that France had the students reading their alphabet letters in French. After teaching her lesson, she told me that some students were only reading up to the letter "J" because their hearing skills were not yet developed enough in French. By December, I noticed that France had written words in the students' Christmas activity booklet such as, "Noël," "Père Noël." She explained that they were able to read these words phonetically and that some students had learned to recognize these words by sight.

Concerning the question of developing grade 1 French immersion students writing skills in social studies, France said that it is only near the end of the school year that students begin to write, "Vers la fin de l'année, on fait un peu de l'écrit." She added that whatever words children learn to write they have to be able to relate themselves to these words. These words, she stated, have to form part of their lived experiences in order to be meaningful. In mid-December I observed the students writing the word "Noël" in their Christmas activity booklet. They also wrote their names on the activity sheets. In January when France covered a lesson from her unit on "Le cirque" I watched the students writing down the names of animals in their spelling scribblers and they would make comments about certain animals or referred to their experiences with certain animals. The words "éléphants" and "serpents" appeared to capture their attention during the lesson, and they discussed the color of snakes and where snakes are found. According to the teacher, in a previous lesson the students had constructed a long green snake and could therefore relate themselves to the word. France further explained that the students had learned to recognize the names of certain animals in the context of a story. She said that she likes to introduce a name or a word before getting students to write it down by playing a guessing game with them. The students become excited and interested in discovering the name of a particular animal. Then they write the word in their scribblers and as they write the word they want to talk about it.

Citizenship Development and Child Socialization. Second language development was one of France's primary goals when selecting and organizing knowledge for her social studies classroom curriculum, but when selecting content for her social studies she also viewed herself as trying to select knowledge which she perceived would be useful to her students later on in life, that is knowledge which could assist her students in developing social and personal life skills, or citizenship skills, " ... apprendre quelque chose qui va leur servir plus tard, quelque chose qui va leur être utile." Her citizenship development activities, she told me, may not really be a part of social studies as defined in the formal curriculum documents but she firmly believes that these activities give students a chance to work together and to develop participation and cooperation skills. Citizenship development in a classroom, she stated, begins when a teacher talks about the person without ever having to use the word citizen, "On enseigne ça dans tout le programme, pas simplement les études sociales ... on ne parle pas du citoyen, mais on parle de la personne."

France has a conception of a "good citizen" and a perception of her role as an agent of child socialization. A good citizen for her is someone who does not necessarily have a Christian attitude but is someone who has an open-minded attitude toward others, "Un esprit ouvert envers avec qui il vit. Pour moi, c'est ça être un citoyen." Being open-minded, she stated, means that a person is conscious that others have different ideas, opinions, religions, or attitudes, "Et puis, il va être conscient des différences dans son groupe, soit des différences d'idées ou d'opinions, de religions, ou d'attitudes." In a classroom, France finds that there are different class structures, that is, one sees wealth and poverty, there are different levels of self-discipline, and there are conflict situations which develop requiring the teacher to take a role as an arbitrator otherwise chaos would reign. Because students in a classroom form part of a group in a miniature society, she believes that they have to learn to understand that they are not alone in the world. She judges that there are certain types of students in her class who are close-minded, who are not tolerant of others, and who are impatient. She sees a need to help them develop an open-minded attitude toward others, respect and tolerance for others, and patience.

A good citizen, France further explained, is someone who is conscious that as a member of a group he can bring ideas to a group and he can learn from a group. She has noted that some types of students have problems sharing, cooperating, listening to others, taking turns, and expressing their views. She believes that when a student does not seem to form part of the group then the teacher should make a point of assisting the student in feeling at ease as a member of the group, "S'il n'est pas au niveau du groupe il faut qu'il reçoit de l'aide pour venir au niveau du groupe autrement il ne se sentirait pas à l'aise." France is of the opinion that her teaching strategy which she calls "le partage" gives such students an opportunity to express themselves in front of others and to share with the group something which is meaningful to them. The group has to learn to listen to that student. During classroom observations I noted that France would remind and encourage students to share such things as their glue, scissors, and other objects. She also encouraged them to help one another. For example, when the young blond "tortue" was having problems with his puzzle France asked a dark haired boy to help him. France would also remind students to take turns when playing a word game by telling them that so and so had not yet had his turn.

A good citizen, France further told me, is someone who is responsible for his actions, is self-disciplined, and is an independent thinker who will not necessarily imitate others. She perceives that there is a lack of self-discipline in society which influences students' behavior and attitudes. She typifies students as being like sheep, "Les enfants sont des moutons! C'est vrai! Ils sont des vrais moutons!" She informed me that in her classroom activities she likes to give her students opportunities to state their preferences. In her unit on "La maison," for example, I observed that she would ask students questions allowing them to state their preferences. She said that at the end of a unit she likes to ask students if they remember how they responded when so and so said such and such a thing, "Tu te souviens d'un tel qui a dit telle ou telle chose?" She will then ask them what they think about the same thing now, "Et puis, qu'est-ce que tu penses de ça maintenant?"

France's Planning Procedures. France described her social studies planning procedures and steps in the following manner:

Firstly, she explained that she has her second language development goals and her social and personal development goals in mind and she views herself as selecting a school board teaching unit which she believes will be of interest to her students.

Her next step is to check in her filing cabinet in order to see what materials she may have available on the topic, "Je vais dans ma filière et je vois ce que j'ai et ce que je n'ai pas." She then returns to her teaching unit and tries to see if she can match the material she has with what is in the unit, "Je vais dans l'unité ... et puis j'essaie de mettre ça ensemble, le matériel que j'ai avec ce qu'ils ont." If she finds that she does not have enough resources such as pictures or ideas for games or discussions or for little booklets, then she will search in the school library, or she will ask teachers in the English program to see what they may have available or what ideas they may have.

Her next step in the planning process, France explained, is to think about preparing a 20 page or so activity booklet for her students, a booklet which she learned to prepare while at College Saint-Jean. She searches in coloring books for pictures or she may draw some herself. She then prints short phrases with important vocabulary on the picture, " ... et puis j'écris une petite phrase avec le vocabulaire qui est important."

She then searches for music, songs, and stories for her proposed unit. If she finds that there is a lack of suitable stories in French on the topic or theme, she will spend time translating stories from English to French or creating her own stories in French. For example, when France talked to me about her proposed plans for her unit on winter she began by telling me that she would find a suitable song and music, "Bon! Bien, là, la musique ... " She said she would prepare an activity booklet with a variety of things for the students to do including vocabulary development activities and coloring activities, " ... le livret pour incorporer toutes sortes de choses, le vocabulaire, le coloriage, ... " and she would read stories to them and have them listen to stories, " ... les histoires, écouter une histoire, ... " they would view a film and she would incorporate some kind of physical activity such as going out and making a snowman, " ... peut-être des activités physiques. Faire des bonhommes de neige." She added that the more activities she could incorporate in her unit, so much the better, "Si on peut relier, si on peut inclure toutes sortes d'activités, on est plus chanceux."

When selecting activities for social studies France likes to limit herself to what she calls simple concrete children's activities, "On se limite à des activités simples et enfantines. ... Je fais beaucoup d'activités avec les enfants. Il le faut." Preparing activities, she told me, can be very time consuming. For example, she said that it took her four to five hours to prepare a bingo game, "Les activités prennent du temps à préparer. Par exemple, pour faire un jeu de bingo ça prend quatre à cinq heures de préparation." In her interactions with different types of students, France has noticed that there are types of students who do not like coloring but adore cutting, and some who are very good at singing but may hate coloring. Students, she said, have different abilities, different skills, or favorite activities, or things that are special to them which she takes into consideration when selecting her social studies activities. She assumes that if she can include a variety of activities in her social studies teaching then there is a chance that students can relate themselves to some of the learning activities, "Je pense que si on peut relier, si on peut inclure toutes sortes d'activités, on est plus chanceux de toucher à plusieurs élèves ... "

France has found that once she has selected a teaching unit or theme that on the average it takes her about two weeks to plan a unit which she predicts will take her approximately three weeks to teach. She also makes predictions as to the amount of time it will probably take her to cover certain parts of her unit. She stated that she likes to allow herself two to three days near the end of a three week unit in order to finish it. Her end of unit plan, she related, always includes getting the students to complete their activity booklet and then showing them a film.

Fitting Proposed Lines of Action to Students' On-Going Activities. As France began interacting with her proposed social studies classroom curriculum and her students during the project, I noticed that she would often talk about being faced with having to revise, adapt, or leave aside her proposed lines of action for a variety of reasons. In the process of interacting with different types of students, she was sometimes faced with having to negotiate with the students in order to cover her unit or complete an activity.

In mid-October when France had talked about her proposed unit on "La maison," she predicted that the students would probably find the vocabulary prescribed in the school board teaching unit to be boring. She also predicted that it would take her about three weeks to cover the unit. After spending one week on her unit she told me that it would probably take her more time than three weeks to complete the unit. Originally, she had judged that she would spend approximately two days per room. She then foresaw spending time getting the students to interiorize the information, to make comparisons and contrasts between the different rooms in the house and to express themselves using the vocabulary learned. When she started teaching her unit on "La maison" she noted that her students were not interested. She therefore decided to include games near the middle of the unit so that her students could enjoy themselves while continuing to learn their vocabulary, "Mais, si on peut introduire un jeu au milieu et à mesure qu'on parle du vocabulaire aux enfants, ils peuvent jouer plus facilement. Ca devient plus intéressant." She inferred that if the activities are not related to students' lived experiences and of interest to them then they will not interiorize the learnings and place the learnings in a perspective, " ... si ce n'est pas rapporté à des choses de leurs expériences dans la vie, ce n'est pas important pour les élèves" A teacher, she added, can only hope for the best, "Et puis, on espère pour le mieux."

France had predicted that at the end of three weeks on her house unit that her students should be able to know at least 50 new words, " ... et on espère qu'ils vont apprendre une cinquantaine de mots à peu pres." On the last day of December she told me that she had just finished her famous unit on "La maison" and that her students were able to apply approximately 30 words of their newly acquired vocabulary in a bingo game situation, "On vient de finir notre fameuse unité sur la maison et puis les enfants ont appris le vocabulaire. J'ai fait un jeu de bingo avec le vocabulaire de la maison." As she talked about her bingo game she told me to wait a second so that she could fetch the game and show me how it worked, "Je vais te le montrer. Je vais aller le chercher." She then stated that even though it took her much longer than anticipated to cover her unit on "La maison" that she was pleased to see how her students could apply their vocabulary, "Mais, là, ils sont rendus très bon! C'est très rare qu'ils vont manquer le vocabulaire." She judged that the reason why it took her longer than anticipated to cover her unit was because she was faced with having to trade-off second language development goals, such as vocabulary development, in order to give her students an opportunity to develop their psychomotor skills. For example, she found that it would take some types of students a whole period just to color, " ... 45 minutes pour colorier!"

In the process of negotiating with certain types of students who are not interested in participating in an activity, France will sometimes discover that they are not interested because they are not able to either cut, color, or sit down and listen to a story, or to wait for their turn to answer a question, " ... la plupart des élèves qui ne sont pas intéressés c'est parce qu'ils ne sont pas capable soit de couper, colorier, ... toutes sortes de choses comme ça." Some types of students will tell her, "I don't like doing this! I just don't like this!" "Oh! This is boring! It's boring!" Some types of children, she explained, are quite willing to compromise themselves and complete the task when she tells them that eventually they will go on to do something that they like, "Ils vont toujours se compromettre à quelque chose, ... ou bien ils vont finir en vue de faire quelque chose qu'ils aiment." There are other types of students such as the close-minded students, France explained, who are not willing to compromise themselves. She cannot negotiate or make a deal with them, "Je ne peux pas faire un 'deal' avec eux-autres, tu sais. ... Tu sais, si tu finis ça, là, bien là ... " These types of students will respond, "Non! I just don't like this! I don't want to do that either!"

Faced with types of students who are not interested in a topic or activity, or who are not motivated, France finds herself having to evaluate the manner in which she is presenting her social studies lessons and the kinds of material she is using. She will ask her students during a lesson why they do not like doing such and such a thing, "Bien! Vous n'aimez pas ça?" Most of the time the students will tell her why they consider certain activities boring, "La plupart du temps ils vont me dire pourquoi ils trouvent ça plate." Reflecting upon the activities herself she may find that she is no more interested in the activities than they are, "Je dis que si ce n'est pas intéressant pour moi, ça ne peut pas l'être pour eux." Subsequently, she proceeds to change or modify the activity or leave it aside completely, "Soit je vais couper, je vais arrêter complètement. ... Sans doute que ça soit ma présentation ou bien le matériel qu'on couvre qui n'est pas intéressant."

Evaluating Curricular Actions. After she has finished teaching a particular unit, France explained that she spontaneously evaluates the outcome of her overall presentation, including the resources she used, her teaching methods and strategies, and the activities she organized. Sometimes she will judge that she could have better taught an aspect of the lesson, "J'évalue surtout les choses. Je pense que j'évalue surtout ma présentation. ... Ah! Bien! Cette chanson là, j'aurais pu l'enseigner d'une meilleure façon. J'aurais du attendre ou bien ... "

France also likes to keep samples of finished activities which were either successful or not successful and make a note on the sample of her assessment for future comparisons or to serve her as a reminder of what the finished activity looked like. She will also note the source where she located certain materials. She then places these noted samples in files for future reference, " ... je vais garder un exemplaire qu'un enfant a fait pour moi d'année en année.

Alors, je peux soit comparer ... " From her point of view, France said that she spontaneously finds herself evaluating her curricular actions, "Alors, je pense qu'il y a un certain montant d'évaluation qui se passe. C'est plutôt spontanée."

### Marie's Perceptions of Social Studies Planning and Teaching.

Marie explained that when she selects and organizes knowledge for a social studies unit or lesson there are so many things that go through her mind, " ... quand je planifie une leçon ou une unité, à quoi je pense? Oh! Mon doux seigneur! ... "

Criterion Underlying Knowledge Selection. When selecting knowledge for her social studies classroom curriculum, Marie said that she has her own social studies goals in mind which are based on the following considerations: developing her students' vocabulary and concepts and getting them to apply their vocabulary in new situations; and, the relevance and pertinence of a unit or topic for her students. She said that once she has selected a school board social studies unit or theme she reads through the unit and various ideas for her unit enter into her mind, "Quand tu lis, des idées te viennent à la tête." She perceives herself when planning as making a series of judgments about the usefulness of a unit for developing her students' vocabulary and for assisting them in acquiring and applying concepts. One of the first things that goes through her mind when developing a social studies unit, she said, is to ask herself how much vocabulary should she teach to help her students acquire a concept. She then reflects upon the concepts and wonders how she will explain them to the students in a simple way and by what means,

"Toutes ces choses là se passent dans ma tête, et puis ensuite, là, je me demande: Combien de vocabulaire, franchement, est-ce que je pourrais leur enseigner?"

Second Language Development Goals. The grade 2 teacher explained that she has her year end second language development goals which influence her social studies planning decisions. She anticipates that at the end of the year her students will be able to: a) use correct expressions in French and the proper French intonation, b) use short sentences when communicating in French; c) use the vocabulary outlined in the reading and oral language arts program; and, d) feel at ease when speaking French.

Selecting Activities for Second Language Development. In order to achieve her year end second language development goals Marie said that she likes to select a variety of social studies means or activities, " ... Il faut que tu varies tes activités." She explained that she tries to select activities which will allow her students to become actively involved in the learning process while at the same time giving them opportunities to apply their vocabulary and concepts in new situations. Some of the thoughts which she notes as preoccupying her when planning a social studies unit includes how she will begin and end her unit and what kinds of songs and activities she will include in her unit in order to help students develop their vocabulary, " ... quand est-ce que je la termine et avec quoi? Aussi, je pense, quelles sortes de chansons ... pour, disons, montrer plus de vocabulaire autour de cette unité là."

I observed that whenever Marie talked about her proposed plans for social studies teaching one of her constant preoccupations was to find ways and means to help her students develop their vocabulary in new contexts, to use correct grammatical structures, to use complete sentences, and to make concept learning concrete and relevant for the students. In October, for example, when Marie began to plan her unit on "L'automne" she informed me that she had decided to begin her unit by getting students to apply in a new context the vocabulary they had previously learned when studying the seasons. The day before she started teaching her unit she told me that she would begin her first lesson by asking the students questions about what happens in the fall and what people do in the fall, "Alors, on commence demain matin sur l'automne. Alors, tu parles des feuilles qui tombent. ... Qu'est-ce qu'on fait? ... Il faut partir du vocabulaire passé des élèves."

In January, while planning her unit on "Le Carnaval" she told me that she had decided to begin her unit by developing her students' vocabulary in order to prepare them for the Carnaval dinner. She mentioned that she would get the students to use French vocabulary, including the correct grammatical structures for talking about table manners, the place setting, and the food. I observed a social studies lesson during which time the students were busy weaving a place mat out of strips of colored construction paper for the Carnaval dinner. Marie then had them place paper cut outs of plates and cutlery on their place mat. She drew a diagram on the board in order to assist them in making the correct setting placement. Then as she pointed to the diagram the students would respond to her questions as follows:

Ss. "La tasse." "Le couteau."
Marie: "Où va la cuillère?"
Ss. "Droite."
Marie: "La fourchette, de quel côté?"
Ss. "Gauche."
Marie: "Vous allez couper, coller à la bonne place sur votre placier ... " (Lesson segment continued). "Bon, mes amis. Qu'est-ce qu'on va manger demain?"
S1. "Des fèves au lard."
S2. "Soupe aux pois."
S3. "Croutons."
S4. "Tourtière."
Marie: "Quoi d'autre est-ce qu'on mange demain? On a dit ... (showing a picture of things they will eat). Quoi d'autre est-ce qu'on va manger demain? Des légumes?"
Ss. "Légumes."
Marie: "Quoi d'autre? De la pu____?"
Ss. "Puding."
Marie: "De la puding au pain. Qu'est ce qu'on va boire demain?"
S6. "Boire le bonhomme?"
Marie and students laugh.
S7. "Boire du lait."
Marie: "Les papas et mamans?"
Ss. "Du thé." "Du café."
Marie: "Du thé et du café. Mais pas pour les petits enfants. De l'eau et du lait."
S8. "Je bois du thé." (Four others said the same).
Segment completed.

### Integrating Social Studies, Language Arts, and Songs.

When talking about her proposed plans for her Carnaval unit, Marie said that she wanted to include the grammatical structures being taught in the French language arts in her social studies themes on relations between friends and relations between the community and its services, "Il faudra développer du vocabulaire. Il faudra insérer les structures qu'on enseigne en ce temps, en ce moment là, en grammaire et tout ça ... de la relation entre les amis." In order to achieve her objectives she perceived the need to: a) select and to develop games which could be played outdoors as a day had been set aside for outdoor Carnaval activities; b) find short stories on the Carnaval and if that was not possible she would have to fabricate them, "Si on n'en trouve pas, il faudra en fabriquer;" c) have students develop little dramatizations of the Carnaval, "On va essayer de faire des petites saynettes du Carnaval;" d) do a brief historical study of the origins of "Le Carnaval" and show slides of the Quebec Carnaval; e) select and teach students from K to 6 Carnaval songs; and, f) tape Carnaval songs for the Carnaval dinner from a record a student had brought back with him from Quebec, "Il m'a apportê un disque du Carnaval qu'il a eu l'an dernier à Quebec."

An example of a grammatical structure taken from the French language arts program which Marie built into a lesson on her Carnaval unit included getting students to apply the words, "petit," "moyen," and "gros" when describing the "Bonhomme de Neige." During a social studies classroom observation I noted that the grade 2 teacher had the students sing the song, using gestures, "Le Bonhomme de Neige." The words in the song included the structures of: "petite, moyenne, grosse." After the song a lesson segment followed in which Marie had the students apply in a context (they made believe that they were building a snowman) the words, "petit, moyen, gros" as follows:

Marie: "Comment est-ce qu'on fait un bonhomme de neige?
Ss. "Roule la neige.
Marie: "Tu fais des boules de neige. Tu as besoin combien de boules de neige?"
S1. "Une petite."
Marie: "Ensuite?"
S2. "Une mieux."
Marie: (correcting) "Une moyenne. Ensemble ... "
Ss. "Une moyenne."
Marie: "Pour la tête?"
Ss. "Une petite."

Marie: "Le bas?"
Ss. "Une grosse."
Marie: "Vous allez me montrer avec vos mains."

The segment continued. In a segment which followed Marie asked the students questions requiring them to use a complete sentence:

Marie showing a picture of le Bonhomme Carnaval.
Marie: "Qu'est-ce que le bonhomme porte?"
S1. "Il porte une ceinture fleché."
S2. "Il porte une tucque rouge."
S3. "Il porte des mitaines."
Marie: "Pourquoi est-ce qu'il porte des mitaines?"
S4. "Il va avoir froid."
Marie" "Quoi d'autre?"
S5. "Il porte un foulard."
Marie: "Quel sorte de foulard?"
S7. "Un blanc foulard."
Marie: "Est-ce qu'il est mince le foulard?"
S8. "C'est un grand foulard."
Marie: "C'est un grand foulard qui va le garder?
Ss. "Très chaud!"

Evaluating Students' Second Language Development. When I had an opportunity after observing the Carnaval lesson I told Marie that I had noted that her students were now using more complete sentences than before Christmas. She happily stated that she had also noticed that the majority of her students were making great progress and added that their usage of the French language was now becoming more spontaneous and regular for them, "Il y a eu un gros changement entre avant Noël et après Noël. ... C'est vraiment remarquable! Là, ils commencent vraiment à faire des phrases complètes, ... c'est presque automatique." She said that she was proud to report that her students now knew that social studies was in French, and that most of them were making an effort to use French, "Ils savent que les études sociales c'est en français. ... Alors, je suis fière de ça, tu sais, qu'au moins ils n'ont pas peur d'essayer."

In October, Marie's feelings about her students' second language development differed from her view of her students' progress in January and early February. During an interview in October, she had expressed a concern that when students answered her using only a word in French and she tried to fill-in their sentence for them that she probably was imposing her own adult ideas on them, "L'idée formulée pour moi c'est une idée d'adulte. Un mot qu'ils me jettent, et puis moi je partage l'idée que moi je me suis faite avec ce mot là." She doubted that when she had to interpret what was in the head of a student and fill-in for him or her that the student was actually participating in social studies, "Bien, pour moi c'est une grosse devinette de savoir ce qu'il voudrait me dire. ... Alors, est-ce que c'est vraiment les élèves qui participent aux études sociales?" She wondered to what extent her students were really able to share their ideas, views, and opinions with their classmates when she filled in for them, "Alors, est-ce qu'ils partagent entre eux-mêmes? Ce n'est plus le partage!"

In the fall Marie perceived that her students, even though they had ideas to share, were limited when faced with having to carry out a discussion in French because of their lack of vocabulary and structures in French, " ... parce que je me dis les enfants, là, ont quelque chose à apporter aux discussions mais par contre ils sont très restreints à cause du vocabulaire, des structures." She interpreted her students as either telling themselves that because they cannot say something in French that they will just not make the effort, "Bon! Bien! Je ne suis pas capable de le dire en français, alors je vais laisser faire," or they might possibly say to themselves that they know only a word and will say it to the teacher and the teacher will complete the idea in French, "Je connais seulement un mot. Je vais essayer avec un mot et peut-être le professeur va me donner mon idée." Marie noted that if she asks a student if such and such is what he wanted to say he will generally reply, "Oui!" but that in reality she has no way of finding out what the student really wanted to say, "Mais, actuellement tu ne sais pas si c'était vraiment ça!" She therefore asseses that not only is such an experience frustrating for the teacher but that it is probably frustrating for the student because the teacher may not be correctly interpreting what is in the student's mind, " ... Je trouve que c'est une frustration pour l'élève et pour le professeur parce que tu ne sais jamais si tu développes chez l'enfant le concept de la discussion, du partage des idées."

Marie perceived a causal relationship between her students limited knowledge of French and their frustrations when they are unable to state their ideas or opinions during a social studies classroom discussion. She believes that if students are not given an opportunity to express themselves in French or in English they become frustrated. Because of her perceptions of students' frustrations, Marie confided that even though she would like to teach the concepts in French and carry on a discussion in French that she sometimes has to trade-off her French language development goals and expectations in order to allow her students to express themselves using either a combination of French and English or just English, "Les discussions sont demi-anglais, demi-francais ... ils sont très frustrés parce qu'ils n'ont pas le vocabulaire pour nous donner leurs idées ... je suis obligée de les laisser parler en anglais."

Curricular Decisions Influenced by Students's Limited Knowledge of French. When planning her unit on Holland Marie's perceptions of her students limited knowledge of French appeared to influence her decision to teach the concepts in French and to carry on discussions with them in English, "Je projète faire les discussions en anglais et enseigner les concepts en français." I noted during an observation of a lesson on Holland that Marie would introduce new words such as, "le canal, les bateaux, les tulipes" in French but allowed the students to discuss in English. A segment of a lesson on Holland when Marie showed the students pictures and allowed them to discuss in English was as follows:

Marie: "Hier, dans le film fixe on a vu des?"
Ss. "Ponts."
Marie showing large colored pictures of Holland to students.
Marie: "Pourquoi est-ce que les ponts s'ouvrent?"
S1. "Pour passer les bateaux."
Marie: "Pour laisser passer les bateaux. On a dit qu'il y a beaucoup de?"
Ss. "Un canal."
Marie: "Un canal pour l'eau. Ici on voit de la neige. Il n'y a pas beaucoup de neige. Regardez la maison ici. Mme. vous a dit qu'ils n'ont pas le droit de toucher le dehors des maisons. C'est le gouvernement qui s'en occupes. Les corridors sont trop petits. Ils rentrent les meubles par la fenêtre. Bon! Comment est-ce qu'ils ouvrent le pont?"
S2. "There is a crank. They crank the bridge up. They have pulleys."
Marie: "They are not that modern in their machinery. They have a bridgeman. He puts up stop signs. The drawbridge fits on ropes and pulleys.
S3. "I know what pulleys are."
Marie: "Toutes les maisons restent vieilles parce qu'on n'a pas le droit de les changer. What would this be

called?" (pointing to a picture)
S4. "A circus."
S5. "A square."
Marie" "It's the city square. Quand est-ce que vous voyez des orchestres?"
S6. "Le jour de l'anniversaire de la Reine."
Marie" "Ils ont une grosse célébration et ils fêtent beaucoup."

The lesson segment continued.

Marie once told me that it can become so easy for a teacher to tell herself that maybe she should teach such and such a concept in English, "Souvent un professeur se dit, je vais le faire en anglais." She finds it difficult to find the time to teach concepts in French because there is so much vocabulary to teach. Furthermore, she has students in her class whom she evaluates as being at different levels in their vocabulary development, "Il y a beaucoup de niveaux de vocabulaire dans la classe même et je t'avais dit que c'est difficile d'enseigner le concept parce qu'on est toujours en train d'enseigner le vocabulaire."

Prior to discontinuing her social studies teaching in order to prepare her students for the school board tests Marie planned a variety of learning experiences which she assumed would allow her students to become actively involved in developing the concept of "La communauté" while having an opportunity to apply their vocabulary in different situations. One such activity which she had in mind was to take her students out for a walk in the school's immediate neighborhood, "Alors, là, je pense que ça devient plus personnel l'enseignement et ce qu'ils apprennent." A few weeks later she informed me about the outcome of her walk in the school's immediate neighborhood. The walk lasted 35 minutes, she said. Each time they reached an intersection, she would ask the students to identify the direction in which they should turn, "Bon, bien maintenant il faut tourner. Dans quelle direction est-ce qu'on se retourne?" They also studied the construction of various types of houses in the neighborhood and learned vocabulary for describing houses and for identifying odd and even numbered addresses, "Il y avait des numéros paires, des numéros impaires. ... Et puis ensuite, ça c'est bien adonné parce qu'on regardait bien les maisons ... " The students, she noted, really enjoyed themselves, "Ils ont tellement aime ça!" She assessed the excursion as having provided her students with opportunities to make the concept of "La communauté" more concrete for the purpose of comprehension, " ... concrétiser le concept pour qu'ils le comprennent bien. Et puis on a développé aussi du vocabulaire." According to Marie, students do not learn concepts by the teacher telling them, but rather by doing and manipulating, " ... tu concrétises le concept que tu enseignes, ... tu peux leur dire des choses et ça ne rentre pas! Ils le savent, mais ils oublient s'ils ne peuvent pas manipuler le concept." Marie perceives a causal relationship between the teacher's ability to make concepts simple and concrete and immersion students' ability to comprehend the words.

*Citizenship Development and Child Socialization.* Marie has a set of social or personal development goals in mind which she anticipates developing in her students during the year. Her social development and personal development goals are, according to her, not only social studies goals but overall educational goals. She believes that in French immersion it is possible to help students understand how to act or behave as citizens, but that in order to accomplish this goal the vocabulary has to be simplified, "On peut relater le vocabulaire et expliquer la façon d'agir comme citoyen, la façon de faire comme bon citoyen, les actions, et tout ça."

When planning a prospective line of action for social studies teaching, combined with her second language development goals Marie has a set of social and personal development goals or citizenship development goals which influence her social studies knowledge selection and organization. She anticipates that by the end of the school year her students will develop a good self-concept of themselves, that is they will be able to better understand themselves, their weakenesses and their limits, and the differences between themselves and others. According to Marie, in order to live in a community students must be able to recognize individual differences, accept people for what they are, and not always feel that others want to persecute them or lower their self-esteem. She said that she tries to teach the students how to get along with others and to be charitable toward others, "A la fin de la deuxième année, j'espère toujours que les enfants, je m'attend que les enfants se comprennent mieux, comprennent mieux les talents, la personalité différente de chaque élève ... "

Marie said she sees a need in society for more cooperative activities. I noted in her planning that she selected and organized activities which were designed to help students cooperate with their classmates and with their parents. For example, the students worked in small groups in order to build a lovely white styrofoam ice palace in their classroom for the Carnaval. Marie was pleased with her students' cooperative spirit when building the ice palace. She added that as the students worked in teams they even communicated in French, "Chaque équipe avait une étape à faire. Alors, c'était vraiment un travail d'équipe! Ca bien été! Ils parlaient en français." During other classroom observations I noted that Marie had the students work in groups carrying out such tasks as preparing a large map and flag of the Netherlands. They also created a map using legends and symbols. When planning a unit on "Le Carnaval" Marie talked about involving her students and their parents in cooperative activities such as the planning of a Carnaval dinner. The Carnaval dinner was judged by Marie as being a success as many parents helped in its preparation.

In order to assist her students in developing an awareness about the workings of their community, Marie prepared a series of short units on "Rules and Regulations." She said that she was disturbed by how much our lives are regulated, "Mais, on est tellement réglementé dans notre vie. C'est vraiment affreux! On dit, tu ne peux pas faire ceci, tu ne dois pas faire cela, tu dois faire ceci, tu dois faire cela!" The motive underlying her choice for selecting a topic on rules and regulations, she informed me, was to make her students aware that rules and regulations sometimes have to be changed because of the circumstances. She assumes that if students take all rules and regulations for granted, "S'ils prennent ça comme 'cash'," then these students will become fixed in a rigid framework, "Ils deviennent figés dans un cadre." Her goal underlying her choice of the unit's substantive content, she explained, was to help her students to become aware that they should not be afraid to express their opinions, whether or not their opinions are solicited.

Near the end of November I observed that during a social studies lesson Marie began a discussion with the students about school rules and how to behave in school. They began by naming the areas where students were not allowed in the school. Marie then explained to the students, "Maintenant, on veut parler des places où qu'on ne doit pas aller. Des places interdites. Nommez-moi des places où on ne doit pas aller." The students identifed the skating rink, the bicycle parking area, the street in front of the school, the trees in the school yard, the adult soccer field, the resource room unless accompanied by a teacher, the janitor's room, and the principal's office unless they wanted to talk to him. Marie then reminded the students that four of them had homework to do the previous night because that had not obeyed the classroom rules. She then asked them to identify the classroom rules, "Quelles sont les règles de la classe? Qu'est ce que tu dois faire?" The students identified the following rules: You do not scream. You lift your hand when you want to talk. Not to look at someone else's work. You do not run in class. You do not touch certain precious delicate objects. That silence is important when the teacher gives directions. That you listen to the substitute teacher. You do not touch the teacher's desk. Marie then asked the students if the rule of not touching the teacher's desk could be changed. She then listed the major rules on the board such as, "On écoute avec attention."

She then asked the students what they are supposed to do when the teacher is absent from the classroom, "What can you do at your desk?" One student stated: "You are being responsible for your own behavior." Another student stated: "On s'assoit à notre pupitre avec un livre." The lesson segment continued.

Students, Marie stated, have a tendency to imitate others and conform themselves to the ideas or behavior patterns of others. A particular incident took place during a classroom observation which Marie pointed out to me as subtantiating her typification of students as imitators. Marie had sent all the students to the bathroom because of a recurring stale smell in the classroom. A few minutes later a light brown haired boy came back into the room to whisper in a low voice to Marie that, "Some kids are making a mess in the bathroom!" Marie hastened out of the classroom in order to investigate. When she returned later on, with a grin on her face which she did not let the students see, she told me that a group of boys had made soap water bombs in paper towels which they were throwing around in the washroom while a few other boys were unrolling the toilet paper. She perceived a causal relationship between the behavior of the grade 5 and 6 boys and her grade 2 students' behavior. She added that the grade 2 boys see the grade 5 and 6 boys making water bombs and they like to imitate the older boys. They do not use "their heads," she stated, "they just imitate others."

Individualizing Learning. Marie said that she likes to individualize learning when she can as it not only permits students to progress at their own level but it allows them to express their opinions, their ideas, and to share some of their knowledge with others and to feel proud of themselves, "Ca te donne la chance de faire l'enseignement individualisé. Ca leur donne une chance de montrer aux autres. Peut-être qu'ils savent des choses qu'on n'enseigne pas dans la classe ... " There are some students who may be good at oral work but may not be good readers, she stated. These types of students, she stated, always experience a lower level of achievement in reading. She likes to give such students a "chance to show that they are good in something too, and they are proud of themselves. They really feel important." During my observations of a lesson on Holland, I noted that Marie invited a student whose grandparents had just returned from visiting Holland to show her classmates her grandparents' picture album and to share with her classmates aspects of her grandparents trip. A segment of a lesson which provides us with an example of how Marie attempted to individualize learning is as follows:

> Marie: "S____, va chercher l'album de tes grandparents. Tu vas parler de l'album aux autres. S____ va vous montrer les photos de ses grandparents. Ses grandparents sont allés en Hollande et ils ont beaucoup de photos."
>
> The students sat on the floor in a semi-circle around S____ who was sitting on a little chair with the family album on her lap.
>
> S____. "My aunty and uncle live in Amsterdam. Here you see a basket of fruits. This is a title page for the album. These are tulip fields."
>
> Marie: "Il y a beaucoup de champs. La fleur de la Hollande c'est la tulipe. En Alberta c'est?"
>
> Ss. "La rose."
>
> Marie: "Voici les grandparents de S____."
>
> S____. "Grandma and grandpa standing with two people in Amsterdam."

The young girl proudly continued showing the students the pictures of her grandparents' trip to Holland and she talked about all the things her grandparents saw and did.

Marie's Planning Procedures. From Marie's point of view, when planning a line of action for social studies teaching she has social studies goals in mind which emphasize second language development. Her objectives for second language development include teaching her students vocabulary and spatial concepts which she predicts they will probably be able to integrate and transfer beyond the classroom situation, "Enseigner beaucoup de choses, beaucoup de concepts spatials, de vocabulaire, de compréhension du fonctionnement de la vie et puis de prendre ça sous le thème et le mettre ailleurs." As far as she is concerned, she supposes that students learn by integrating and by tansferring their learnings or concepts to other areas of life, " ... Mais, je pense que les enfants c'est comme ça qu'ils apprennent. Il me semble que c'est une pédagogie, une philosophie des enfants qui s'applique ... "

With a set of goals in mind and a variety of ideas in her head, Marie said that once she has selected a social studies unit or theme the next step she undertakes is to make decisions about the kinds of resource materials she needs to teach her unit. She then wonders if she will be able to find these resources someplace in her school, "Bon! Je pense là, je regarde tout ce que j'ai là, et puis je regarde les ressources et puis là, je pense, est-ce qu'on a ces ressources là?"

Other planning considerations which Marie views as entering her mind when organizing her social studies units or lessons include making decisions about means and ends relationships. She makes decisions, for example, about the means she should use in order to develop her students' vocabulary and to help them apply their vocabulary in new situations. I observed that when planning a line of action some of the means which she consistently selected for her units or lessons included songs, rhymes, music, simulation games, dramatisations, plans to have students prepare displays, and on two occasions field trips. Sometimes she projected that she would develop games, and find books and stories which she could read to the students. As a starting point for organizing classroom discussions she would select pictures, slides, and organize observation activities. She would also select objects such as a pumpkin, styrofoam pieces and large tinker toys which the students could manipulate while developing their vocabulary and sentence structures. She prepared activity sheets, displays, purchased materials for costumes, and made a pattern of a house with cardboad which students had to assemble and glue on another piece of cardboard representing the streets surrounding their house. She also made decisions about integrating math concepts and art activities in her social studies teaching.

For her proposed unit on Holland, a unit which did not originate from her school board social studies teaching units but rather which she planned and prepared herself, she talked about getting her students actively involved in classroom activities including getting them to do research, "En tout cas, pour mon projet de la Hollande je vais essayer autant que possible de faire participer les enfants, même à la recherche." She assumed that getting students involved in research does not create additional work for the teacher but rather that it changes the teacher's role from that of an information transmitter to that of an information verifier and research project guide, "Pour moi ce n'est pas tellement de travail. Ils vont faire la recherche et puis tout ça. Ca demande la verification des faits, la verification de l'organisation de la chose." She added that as she had some good readers in her class she would provide them with little story books on Holland and would get them to find certain kinds of information. Once she began her project, she judged that the students really enjoyed finding information for the teacher and sharing the information they had found with the class, "Ils sont capable de faire de la recherche. ... Ils commencent à vouloir faire quelque chose pour le groupe et partager." She also talked about getting small of groups of students involved in preparing a large flag and map of the Netherlands. Marie had also planned to get the students to make a traditional Dutch costume which they would wear during the open-house. Eventually she decided to make a black vest for the boys and a white apron for the girls and have the students decorate their costumes by ironing on waxed appliques of flowers which they would color on white sheets of paper. One of Marie's preoccupations was to find suitable inexpensive fabric for the costumes. During a classroom observation I watched the students complete the task of decorating their costumes and then they tried them on. I was asked by some girls to tie their aprons and several students wanted me to comment on their costumes.

Generally, Marie allows herself two to three weeks to plan a unit but planning and organizing her unit on Holland took her more time than she had anticipated. When planning a unit, she told me that she always asks herself how much time she will spend on the unit, "Ensuite je pense, combien de temps est-ce que je vais passer sur cette unité?" She explained that she does not like to begin to teach a new unit on a Thursday because then the next lesson is on a Monday and on Mondays the students are half asleep and by Tuesday they have forgotten half of what they were presented, "Je ne veux pas commencer mon unité un jeudi parce que ça te ramène au lundi, et puis ils sont endormis, et puis par le mardi ils vont oublier." She said that she prefers to start a new unit on a Monday or a Tuesday. Once she begins teaching a unit she asks herself how much time she will have during a particular week to teach it and if she will be able to end her unit on time, "Combien de temps est-ce que j'ai cette semaine à passer ... et puis, est-ce que je peux terminer à bon temps?"

Fitting Proposed Lines of Action to Students' On-Going Activities. On a few occasions during the project Marie explained that once she begins teaching a unit she finds herself making revisions. She also mentioned that in the process of interacting with her students she is sometimes faced with having to change, revise, or add new content and activities to her proposed plans of action. For example, in mid-October prior to teaching her next social studies class on "L'automne" she told me that she had 30 minutes to spare on that day and that during that time she would revise some of her ideas for her next social studies lesson, "Par exemple, aujourd'hui j'ai 30 minutes. Je revise mes idées. ... " As an outcome of her interactions and negotiations with different types of students with different needs, Marie sometimes has to trade-off second language development goals in order to attend to students' expectations, demands, and on-going activities.

Marie explained that as she teaches her students all school subjects, on certain occasions while interacting with them she may suddenly find an opportunity to reinforce or integrate a grammatical structure in the context of her social studies theme, " ... ça te viens au fur et à mesure. Tout à coup, pendant un sujet ou l'autre, tu trouves l'opportunité absoluement efficace de renforcir une structure ... " Sometimes, while in the process of teaching, she said that she may think of other activities she could develop or of another concept which may not necessarily be a social studies concept, which she could include in her lesson, or she may think of other methodologies she could use, "Des fois tu commences ... et puis tu te dis tout en leur enseignant, je peux faire ça. Ca va être une bonne activité pour mes enfants ... "

There were times during the project when Marie had to trade-off second language development goals in order to teach her students personal life skills, including hygiene, or to attend to their physical well-being and social development. As I was observing Marie carving the big pumpkin while teaching her students vocabulary for talking about the Halloween Jack-O-Lantern, I noticed that when she saw that the students who were to begin removing the seeds from the inside of the pumpkin had dirty hands, she immediately ended the segment of her lesson and sent each row of students to the washroom to scrub their hands, "Je vois des mains salles! Moi, je ne mangerai pas les graines sales! On va se laver les mains." During various classroom observations I noted that when Marie judged that the students were getting tired or restless and she could not negotiate with them to be patient she would end a lesson segment then ask them to get up and do a series of exercises with her, or she would have them sing a song.

According to Marie, in her class she has types of students with whom she cannot negotiate. For example, she spoke about a few students whom she perceives as not wanting to do any work. She has other types of students who want to dominate others and some students who are willing to conform themselves to these leaders. I observed during a lesson on map construction that when the students were working in groups that one boy was not invited by others to join a group. Once he was placed by Marie in a group, even though a group capitain had been elected, he proceeded to tell everyone in the group what to do. As Marie circulated from one group of students to the next she kept reminding the young lad that others also liked to participate in the project and express their views. The young boy just continued giving his orders to the rest of the group, or doing what he wanted. Marie turned toward me and said that the students generally do not select this young lad because they know that he will want to dominate the group and will not be willing to compromise, "Il ne se fait pas choisir ... il va dominer toute la chose. Quand il vient à travailler, il domine. C'est la même chose dans les jeux, même s'il n'est pas capitaine ... "

Marie had projected that the students should have completed their map construction task in a given amount of time but because of the types of non-negotiable students in two of the five groups, she was not able to proceed with her next planned activity. For example, the young lad who wanted to dominate the group did not carry out the task according to instructions and the other students in his group imitated him. Marie had to spend a fair amount of time with this group to show them exactly how to choose their legends and symbols and where to place them on the map and why. Even though she spent more time with this particular group than any other group, the end product was a mixture of individualistic work. In another group which included Cindy-Lou, (Cindy-Lou was perceived by Marie as having a negative attitude toward learning) Cindy-Lou worked on the opposite side of the sheet while the other girls worked on the right side of the sheet. Obviously, the group task was not completed. When Marie pointed out to Cindy-Lou that she should be working on the same side of the sheet as the other students, Cindy-Lou stared at her with her big blue eyes. When Marie left the group, Cindy-Lou just sat there as if in a daze and did not help her classmates complete the map construction task.

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

The summary insights generated from the data for the two exploratory questions underlying the statement of the problem of this study are as follows:

QUESTION NO. 1: "What are the elements which constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations related to social studies teaching in a French immersion situation?"

The categories of elements extrapolated from the data during the research project which seem to constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying their social studies pedagogical judgments, decisions, and actions include: teachers' biographies and career experiences; the nature of the setting; parental expectations and demands; school administrators' expectations and demands and school directives; support personnel and services; colleagues' attitudes and actions; perceptions of students; and, the formal social studies prescriptions.

Teachers' Biographies and Career Experiences.

During interviews the two teachers' cited cultural, linguistic, educational, professional training, and teaching experiences which provided them with sets of meanings, knowledge, and emotional responses to particular situations. These elements appear to influence their decisions to place a high priority on second language development goals and child socialization goals when planning social studies.

1. The teachers who have grown up valuing the French language appear to be committed to second language development goals in their social studies planning and teaching.

2. The teachers' lack of formal social studies training appears to contribute to their lack of commitment to the goals and objectives of the formal social studies curriculum.

3. The teachers have acquired a definition of French immersion schooling as being a normative educational program, and of second language acquisition as being a normal state of affairs, just like any other kinds of learnings.

4. The teachers have acquired a set of meanings or principles of the second language acquisition process, notions of causal relationships between second language teaching and learning, and notions of probability concerning achievable goals in a French immersion situation.

5. The teachers have acquired typificatory concepts of French immersion students' linguistic and intellectual abilities, potentials, needs and interests which appear to influence the kinds of knowledge which they deem to be appropriate and worthwhile for French immersion students.

6. The teachers have acquired conceptions of means and ends relationships or pedagogical and subject "know-how" which influences their selection of: social studies teaching units and themes; social studies goals and objectives; resource materials; teaching methodologies and strategies; and, classroom learning experiences for their students.

7. The teachers have acquired a set of emotional responses to situations which influences their interpretations of external expectations, demands, and constraints, and their curricular judgments, decisions, and actions.

8. The teachers have acquired a set of normative standards about child socialization or citizenship development which appear to

influence their choice of social studies social development goals and life skill objectives.

9. The teachers have acquired normative role definitions of how they are expected to act as teachers.

The Nature of the Setting.

Because of the anglophone nature of the home, community, school setting, and school atmosphere, when planning prospective lines of action for social studies teaching the teachers perceived a need to emphasize second language development goals.

1. The teachers' perceived a causal relationship between the anglophone nature of the school setting and their students' limited opportunities to use French once they leave the classroom.

2. When planning a prospective line of action for social studies teaching the teachers have to limit their students' learning experiences in French to the classroom situation.

Parental Expectations and Demands.

Parental expectations and demands of French immersion schooling appear to have a certain influence on the teachers' decisions to place a high priority on second language development goals and on child socialization goals in their social studies planning. In an attempt to make parents aware of the normative nature of French immersion schooling the teachers like to invite parents to participate in school and classroom activities.

1. According to the teachers, middle and upper-middle class anglophone parents who seem to perceive French immersion as a special or status kind of program expect their children to master the French

language and to have a high degree of achievement in all school subjects.

2. The teachers judge parental expectations and demands as being unreasonable as they perceive that it is not possible for French immersion students to develop a high degree of proficiency in the French language and at the same time to achieve in all school subjects.

3. The teachers have to negotiate with parents who have high expectations of French immersion schooling their definitions and interpretations of the principles and rules of second language acquisition, their notions of casual relationships between the needs and potentials of different types of students and their second language learning abilities, and more particularly in the case of the grade 1 teacher, that schooling is more than second language learning.

4. The two teachers perceived a causal relationship between the high degree of parental expectations of French immersion schooling and their high degree of interest in their children's schooling.

5. In order to make parents aware of the normative nature of French immersion schooling, the teachers organized social studies activities which allowed parents to participate with them and their children in cooperative activities.

6. The teachers take it for granted that their expected role includes attending to students social and personal development, not only in social studies, but in all areas of schooling.

## School Administrators' Expectations and Demands.

The teachers' decisions to place a high priority on developing their students' second language skills when planning and organizing their social studies classroom curriculum appeared, in part, to be influenced by school administrators' expectations and directives that immersion students achieve proficiency in the French language.

1. Given that there are various types of students in a French immersion classroom such as weak students, students with learning problems, behavioral, attitudinal and personal problems, the teachers perceive school administrators' expectations and demands that French immersion students develop proficiency in the French language as being unreasonable.

2. In the case of the grade 1 teacher she feels annoyed and isolated when having to negotiate with school administrators who perceive students' learning, behavioral, or attitudinal problems as being causally related to "The French."

3. The grade 2 teacher, who felt pressured and frustrated when faced with the school board standardized tests, decided in early April to discontinue teaching social studies, a subject which was not to be tested, in order to return to her French language arts objectives so that she could prepare her students for the tests. The grade 2 teacher felt annoyed by the fact that school administrators do not take into consideration the different levels of students' linguistic and intellectual abilities when administering the tests. As a consequence, she felt that if her students, who are basically a

weak group, did not have a high degree of success on the tests then her reputation would be at stake.

## Support Personnel and Services.

The teachers' lack of commitment to the formal social studies curriculum's goals appear to be partially influenced or limited by a lack of human and material resources, and by the existing resource personnels' normative definitions of social studies in French immersion as being no more than vocabulary development.

1. The teachers, who have not been formally prepared to teach social studies, feel alone and isolated when faced with having to teach social studies to students with a limited knowledge of the French language. They perceive a need for a competent French speaking social studies consultant or resource person who could assist them in planning and implementing social studies in a French immersion situation.

2. The teachers, who perceive a lack of suitable social studies resource materials in French, find themselves frustrated with having to spend much time searching for resources or translating materials, or creating their own resources. They identified the need for French speaking librarians in their respective schools who could assist them in finding social studies resources in French.

3. The teachers are told by the school board consultants or resource personnel that the vocabulary lists in the various school board social studies teaching units must be taught to the students, but that they are free to select the order of the units and the teaching methods.

## Colleagues' Definitions and Actions.

The teachers' definitions of social studies in French immersion as being more oriented toward vocabulary development than social inquiry skill and process development and social studies concept development appear to be influenced, to a certain degree, by their colleagues' normative definitions of social studies.

1. According to the two teachers, their colleagues perceive the formal social studies curriculum as being too difficult for the French immersion situation and they predict that the curriculum's goals cannot be achieved in a French immersion situation. The two teachers' own position regarding the formal social studies goals appears to be substantively congruent with the views held by their colleagues.

2. The teachers perceive their colleagues as always complaining about the amount of vocabulary they have to teach in the school board social studies units but when given an opportunity to make curicular changes they remain apathetic and will generally perceive a need to add more vocabulary to the units instead of revising them.

3. The teachers perceive their colleagues as lacking "know-how" for social studies teaching and of always looking for "recipes" to follow or teacher-proof materials.

## The Social Studies Curriculum.

The teachers are not committed to the formal social studies curriculum goals because they believe that the program has not been designed for the French immersion situation. According to the teachers, their school board social studies teaching units constitute the social studies program for French immersion. The school board teaching units emphasize vocabulary development thereby influencing the teachers' decisions to focus on vocabulary development and vocabulary application goals and learning activities when planning prospective lines of action for social studies teaching.

1. The teachers judge that in a French immersion situation students do not have the necessary vocabulary and grammatical structures for dealing with the formal social studies curriculum's substantive content, concepts, and the social inquiry process.

2. The teachers perceive themselves as being expected to teach the vocabulary in the school board social studies units even though they assess these units as being made up of a 'hode-podge' of unrelated themes, of lacking a rationale, a logical sequence, and substantive content.

Students.

Given that students in early French immersion have a very limited knowledge of the French language, the teachers perceive a need to emphasize second language development goals and objectives in their social studies teaching.

1. According to the grade 1 teacher, in French immersion there is a need to begin by teaching students simple words and directions. The students have to learn to listen, then speak and express themselves. It is not possible to ask students about their values or preferences until they can express themselves. The grade 1 teacher judges that in a French immersion situation it is not

possible to actually begin social studies until about March.

2. The grade 2 teacher perceives that most of her time is taken up developing students' vocabulary according to the school board teaching unit prescriptions and teaching them grammatical structures thereby leaving her with very little time to develop social studies concepts or ~~to~~ help students develop relationships between concepts.

3. The grade 2 teacher judges that it is very difficult to involve immersion students in discussions in French because of their limited knowledge of the French language. When planning prospective lines of action for social studies teaching she makes decisions to teach the vocabulary or concepts in French and to let the students discuss in "franglais" or English as she finds that students become saturated with learning so much vocabulary and if students are not given opportunities to share their ideas and views they become frustrated.

QUESTION NO. 2: "How do teachers fit together their own planned actions for social studies teaching in a French immersion situation with the expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others?"

### Fitting School Board Social Studies Prescriptions to Proposed Goals and Conceptions of Children.

When planning lines of action for social studies teaching the teachers generally selected school board social studies teaching units which they judged would be of interest and relevant to the types of students in their classrooms, and they organized learning activities which they assumed would help them to develop students' second language skills and attend to their social and personal development.

1. The teachers' vocabulary development and application goals were based on their notions of probable achievable goals in a French immersion situation and their normative definitions of the second language acquisition process.

2. Based on their notions of probable achievable goals in a French immersion situation and their typifications of immersion students' linguistic abilities, in the planning process the two teachers consistently traded-off social studies goals for second language development goals.

3. Founded on their conceptions of appropriate means to achieve their second language development goals, in the planning process the teachers selected resource materials, teaching strategies, and learning activities which they assumed would help their students develop their French vocabulary and apply their vocabulary in new contexts, and they also selected and organized learning experiences which they assumed would help their students develop such personal and social skills as open-mindedness, patience, tolerance, sharing, listening to others, obeying, and cooperating with others.

### Fitting Proposed Social Studies Plans of Action to On-Going Students' Activities.

In the process of interacting with their students, the two teachers were faced with having to fit their proposed lines of action for social studies teaching to the expectations, demands, and

5

on-going activities of their students. In order to maintain a normative classroom atmosphere the teachers were faced with negotiating with students and making trade-offs.

1. As a result of their interactions and negotiations with different types of students the teachers sometimes decided to trade-off certain second language development goals in order to attend to students' social, personal, and general well-being. (In the case of the grade 1 teacher for psychomotor development goals).

2. The outcome of the teachers' interactions and negotiations with different types of students sometimes resulted in their decision to revise, change, or reject their proposed lines of action in order to make their curriculum more compatible to their students' intellectual and linguistic abilities, or to make it more substantively congruent with their students' personal and social needs and interests.

From the point of view of the two teachers, trading-off social studies goals for second language development goals is a normative practice in French immersion as the formal social studies curriculum has not been designed for students in a French immersion situation. The various external expectations and demands that immersion students develop proficiency in the French language appeared to strongly influence the two teachers decisions' to emphasize vocabulary development and vocabulary application in their social studies planning and teaching. In the process of interacting with their students and their proposed lines of action for social studies teaching, the two teachers consistently decided to trade-off their second language development goals in order to attend to their students' needs, interests, intellectual and linguistic abilities, their personal and social development, and their general well-being.

# CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was designed to describe and explain the schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying two teacher's knowledge selection and organization for social studies teaching in a primary French immersion situation. The study was intended to yield insights into how teachers' curricular judgments, decisions, and actions can be influenced by an interplay of external and internal elements. There is evidence from the literature that teachers' curricular judgments, decisions, and actions are influenced by a variety of complex external expectations, demands, and constraints and various internal elements. This study, which was exploratory in nature, was perceived as an appropriate starting point for inquiring into how teachers of early French immersion manage to integrate social studies teaching with second language teaching. The basic assumptions, concepts, and methodological guidelines of symbolic interactionism were considered to be equally appropriate for investigating and interpreting the multiple realities which constituted the relationships between the teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations and their curricular actions. The results were obtained by taking a limited participant observer's role triangulated with interviews and document examination. The point of view of a grade 1 and a grade 2 teacher dominates the presentation and analysis of the data. The study involved two teachers who taught early elementary French immersion for the same school board but in different schools. Because of the degree of "fit" between those two teachers' contexts it is reasonable to suppose that the tentative findings may help readers understand other similar contexts. In this Chapter the conclusions, implications, and recommendations of the study are outlined.

## CONCLUSIONS

The study was developed around two exploratory questions:

1. What are the elements which constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations related to social studies teaching in a French immersion situation?

2. How do teachers fit together their own planned actions for social studies teaching in a French immersion situation with the expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others?

QUESTION NO. 1: "What are the elements which constitute teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations related to social studies teaching in a French immersion situation?"

From a symbolic interactionist perspective the way human beings act toward things and significant others in situations depends on how, in the self-interaction process, they define and interpret a variety of external and internal elements which constitute their situation. When organizing prospective lines of action in the self-interaction process, individuals may note, designate to themselves, judge, analyze, and evaluate such things or elements as:

their perceptions of their situation; the expectations and demands of others; the rules and norms of their society or significant others; objects around them; their recollections; the presence and actions of others and the expected actions of others; their goals, wants, feelings, emotions; and, their images of prospective lines of conduct combined with their judgments of the possibilities of the situation.

The data suggest that when planning lines of action for social studies teaching the teachers' definition of the French immersion situation included a complex interplay of external and internal elements which seemed to shape their decisions to trade-off social studies goals such as social studies concept development, values clarification, and the development of social inquiry skills and processes for: a) second language development goals such as vocabulary development and application; and, b) their own explicit and implicit child socialization goals such as helping students to learn how to listen to others, to be patient, obedient, tolerant and open-minded toward others, to share and to cooperate, and to develop self-discipline.

Underlying the teachers' decisions to trade-off social studies goals for second language development goals and child socialization goals was their commitment to second language development and their lack of commitment to the purpose and goals of the social studies.

Commitment to Second Language Development.

The teachers' commitment to second language development goals appeared to be influenced mainly be a complex interplay of internal and external elements such as: a) a heritage of commitment to French language transmission; b) their perceptions of the role parents, school administrators, and resource personnel expect teachers of French immersion to take and make (teachers' are expected to help immersion students develop proficiency in the French language); and, c) as a result of interacting with colleagues whose normative definitions of social studies in French immersion appear to be that of vocabulary development, and of interacting and negotiating with different types of students who have a limited knowledge of the French language, the teachers have acquired notions of possible achievable goals in a French immersion situation.

Lack of Commitment to the Purpose and Goals of Social Studies.

The teachers' lack of commitment to the purpose and goals of the formal social studies curriculum can be attributed mainly to a complex interplay of external and internal elements such as: a) their lack of formal social studies training in their teacher education program and the lack of human and material resources which could assist them in planning and implementing social studies goals (the grade 1 teacher who had 32 students in her social studies class judged that because of her class size she has very little time to help students to clarify their values or state their preferences); b) their judgments of probable achievable goals in a French immersion situation which are based on their typification concepts of students' linguistic and intellectual needs and abilities and their notions of causality between second language teaching and learning (the teachers perceived French immersion students as lacking the necessary vocabulary and sentence structures for carrying out certain intellectual and linguistic tasks in French); and c) their role definition as agents of child socialization based on their conception of a "good" citizen and of normative classroom practice.

QUESTION NO. 2: "How do teachers fit together their own planned actions for social studies teaching with the expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others?"

Symbolic interactionists take the position that in the process of interacting with others in a particular setting, individuals, through a process of interpretations, may judge that they have to fit their normative definitions of the situation or their prospective lines of action to meet the expectations, demands, or on-going activities of others. Through a process of negotiations individuals can therefore attempt to make things work or continue to work by either reorganizing, revising, adjusting, or transforming their intentions, goals, wishes, expectations, attitudes and feelings.

### Fitting External Expectations and Demands to Internal Elements When Selecting Social Studies Knowledge and Means.

In the process of planning prospective lines of action for social studies teaching, the teachers generally selected as a basis for organizing the content of their social studies classroom curriculum school board social studies teaching units which emphasized vocabulary development and the development of grammatical structures in French. Once they had selected a teaching unit the teachers proceeded to select resource materials and organize learning activities aimed at developing their students' vocabulary and grammatical structures. Their knowledge selection and organization decisions appeared to be influenced by: a) their interpretation of parental and school administrators' expectations and demands that they develop immersion students' proficiency in the French language; b) school administrators' and resource personnel's directives that they teach the vocabulary in the school board social studies teaching units; and, c) their subject and pedagogical perspectives combined with their notions of means and ends relationships needed to develop immersion students' vocabulary and grammatical structures in French.

Even though the teachers' were critical of their school board social studies teaching units their decision to select their social studies content based on these units appeared to be influenced by their role perception that as teachers of French immersion they are expected to teach a prescribed body of measurable knowledge. Furthermore, according to the teachers it would appear that a normative definition of social studies in French immersion is that of vocabulary development. Probably because French immersion is perceived as a highly controversial program or as a special program by parents and school administrators, the pressure placed upon the teachers by school administrators and consultants to teach identifiable vocabulary and content to students guarantees that school administrators can assure interested stakeholders that the school is developing French immersion students' proficiency in the French language.

Once the teachers had selected a social studies teaching unit, in order to develop their second language development goals, they consistently selected resource materials and organized a variety of what they perceived to be simple and concrete vocabulary development and vocabulary application activities. Based on their past interactional experiences with different types of students who can become frustrated with vocabulary learning the teachers perceived a need to include pictures, filmstrips, story books, objects (i.e. a pumpkin at the grade 2 level), art activities, songs, and games in their unit planning in order to make vocabulary learning interesting and relevant for students. For example, the grade 1 teacher used an overhead projector and transparencies of pictures of objects to be found in different rooms of the house in order to introduce new vocabulary to her students. She also included coloring, cutting, and gluing activities in order to help students apply their newly acquired vocabulary of objects to be found in different rooms of a house. The grade 2 teacher had the students make place mats out of colored construction paper and in the process taught them the vocabulary for a place setting in French.

Generally, when the teachers talked about their proposed plans for social studies teaching they selected vocabulary to be taught in a teacher-controlled and teacher-directed interactional situation. The classroom observations substantiated that the teachers attempted to implement their proposed vocabulary development objectives in a highly teacher-controlled and teacher-directed setting. For example, when the teachers introduced new vocabulary they usually asked their students a series of structured descriptive questions seeking a single correct answer, (i.e. the grade 1 teacher would ask students questions such as, "Qu'est-ce que c'est?" pointing to pictures of objects to be found in various rooms of the house). Even the classroom discussions were teacher-directed and the teachers controlled the content of the discussions by asking students a series of structured questions aimed at getting them to use specific vocabulary and sentence structures.

When the teachers designed their own social studies unit (the grade 1 teacher prepared a short unit on circus animals and the grade 2 teacher prepared a unit on Holland for the Alberta 75th Anniversary Celebrations) it was noted that during interviews they talked about their intentions to get students actively involved in learning. Prior to leaving her teaching position at the end of January, the grade 1 teacher prepared a short unit on jungle and circus animals, a topic proposed by the students for investigation. Based on a spontaneous classroom activity the students developed an interest in wanting to find out more about wild animals. The grade 1 teacher had the students select the animals they wanted to study. She then organized activities which allowed them to learn to read and write the names of certain animals and to talk about them. The students had developed an interest in snakes and the long green papier maché snake which I had noticed in the classroom was an example of a student initiated activity. During an interview when the grade 2 teacher talked about her proposed plans for her unit on Holland for the Alberta 75th Anniversary Celebrations she explained that she wanted to involve her students in research activities, group work, and to individualize learning. She anticipated that when her students would be involved in research and group work that her role would change from that of a transmitter of knowledge to that of a guide or facilitator. The teachers' decisions to involve their students in inquiry oriented activities differed somewhat from their usual plans to organize teacher-directed activities and teacher-controlled content.

In scrutinizing the data from interviews and classroom observations several statements made by the teachers were found which indicate that they sometimes felt they ought to involve their students in inquiry oriented activities. For example, the grade 1 teacher while making critical comments about the school board social studies program said that she would like to see teaching units which include problem-solving activities for immersion students. She was under the impression that the program developers assumed that immersion students cannot "think," an assumption which she believes to be false. The grade 2 teacher had indicated that if it was up to her that she would eliminate three-quarters of the school board teaching units and replace them with units which begin with students' needs and interests. She said that she would prepare units on the playground and she would have the students follow an election. It was further noted that during the project the grade 2 teacher had students do group work beyond the Holland project. For example, the students worked in groups to construct a styrofoam snow house for the Carnaval, and to prepare a large map with symbols and legends.

There may be a possible explanation for the discrepancy in the teachers' planning decisions and patterns noted during the project: Beyond stating that they wanted to actively involve their students in the learning process the teachers never really defined what social studies inquiry or process skills and participation skills they intended to develop. The 1977 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition, outlines a process for social inquiry which includes developing students' abilities to identify and focus on an issue (i.e., value, social, factual, definitional, policy elements); establish research questions and procedures including hypotheses development; gather and organize data; analyze and evaluate data; synthesize data; resolve an issue; create a plan of action; and, evaluate their decision, the process, and their action (Alberta Education, 1978, pp. 14-15). When testing the congruency between the data from interviews and from classroom observations it was found that even though the grade 2 teacher had talked about wanting to actively involve her students in group activities that the group activities were not oriented toward developing inquiry skills but rather were still teacher-directed and teacher-controlled. For example, the group activity which involved preparing a large map of the Netherlands for the Holland project was teacher initiated and the grade 2 teacher had drawn the outline for the map. She directed each student to color one small region using a color which she selected. The students were then told not to cross into another region. The data seem to suggest that the teachers' basically viewed students as knowledge recipients who must be told what to do, and how to go about doing things rather than viewing students as being able to discover and generate knowledge and make decisions about learning.

## Fitting Proposed Plans to On-Going Students' Activities Through a Process of Negotiation and Trade-Offs.

The data suggest that in the interaction process, when the two teachers attempted to fit their planned actions for social studies teaching to the expectations, demands, and on-going activities of their students, they were sometimes faced with having to negotiate with them their normative definitions of social studies and of child socialization. These negotiations sometimes resulted in the teachers trading-off second language development goals or in revising, reorganizing, adjusting or transforming their proposed lines of action in order to maintain a normative classroom situation.

During classroom interactions the teachers encountered negotiable or non-negotiable types of students who either felt saturated with learning vocabulary, who had difficulties carrying out certain tasks, or who were not interested in the classroom themes or learning activities. The teachers were then faced with having to make decisions in order to attend to students' expectations, interests, and social or personal needs. For example, if the teachers noted that their students were becoming frustrated with being unable to express their ideas or views in French, they would decide to teach the vocabulary or concepts in French and let the students discuss in "franglais" or English. If the teachers noted that their students were becoming saturated with vocabulary learning they would cut down the amount of vocabulary to be learned or they would organize different learning activities in order to maintain their students' interest. In the case of the grade 1 teacher she would trade-off second language learning activities in order to help her students develop their psychomotor skills (cutting, coloring, and gluing), or good working habits (isolating a student and his desk who did not behave or do his work). The grade 2 teacher would trade-off her second language learning goals or activities in order to teach her students hygiene (the hand-washing incident before taking out the pumpkin seeds or the foul smell incident when she sent the whole class to the bathroom), and manners (teaching students table manners for the Carnaval dinner), or school rules and regulations and what happens when students do not obey the rules. The data suggest that even though the two teachers felt pressured by parents, school administrators and school directives to develop students' second language skills that their basic role perception as agents of socialization was to attend to their students' social and personal development and their general well-being.

### Transferability of Conclusions.

The literature reviewed in this study suggests the following contextual similarities between the two primary French immersion teachers' curricular judgments, decision, and actions and other teaching contexts:

1. The conclusion that the two teachers traded-off social studies goals for second language development goals such as vocabulary development may be a normative practice in French immersion. For example, Wightman (1977) observed that in early French immersion classroom topics are limited and that when teachers introduce a new topic for study their initial step is to develop

their students' vocabulary. In the Smith and Kelebay (1979) survey of secondary teachers' perceptions of the place of history in French immersion, the authors concluded that history was being used by the teachers as a vehicle to second language teaching rather than as a subject in its own right. Smith and Kelebay also found that vocabulary development and the development of grammatical structures was a central point of concern for the teachers who judged that the concepts and reasoning required for history were just too difficult for students to learn in the second language.

2. With regard to the conclusion that the two teachers are not committed to the purpose and goals of the formal social studies curriculum but rather have their own definitions of social studies and of citizenship development, this conclusion seems to be consistent with Shaver, Davis, and Helburn's (1979) finding that even though statements of social studies goals include the development of inquiry skills, teachers are still mainly concerned with their students' learning of an accepted body of knowledge. In particular, the conclusion that the teachers are not committed to developing students inquiry skills is consistent with the finding in the Downey (1975) report, a study on the status of social studies teaching in Alberta, Canada, that, "About one-third of our teachers reject the inquiry and valuing orientations, and less than one-fifth actively promote them." (pp. 29 - 30). Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979) conclude that the reason why teachers' social studies curriculum does not include critical-thinking and inquiry experiences for their students is because these approaches to knowledge "may simply not be

compatible with the socialization aims of the teachers called upon to use them" (p. 9).

3. The conclusion that the teachers' decisions, during classroom interactions and negotiations, to trade-off certain social studies or second language development goals in order to maintain a normative definition of social studies teaching and learning and to attend to students' social, personal and physical needs, interests, and well-being is consistent with Delamont's (1976) view of the classroom interaction process between teacher and students as being one of give-and-take. Delamont describes the process of negotiation between teacher and students as an on-going process which influences how teachers define and redefine their everyday classroom realities (p. 25). The process of negotiations which takes place in teacher-pupil interactions is perceived by Barnes (1975) as implying that students have objectives, beliefs, and values which influence teachers' classroom curriculum decisions.

4. The conclusion drawn in this study that teacher-decision making is influenced by complex multidimensional elements is consistent with a growing body of literature that teachers' pedagogical thoughts, judgments, decisions, and behavior are influenced by a wide variety of external and internal variables or elements (Shavelson and Stern, 1981), and students' day by day social studies classroom experiences are therefore dependent on how teachers decide to put these external and internal elements "together for the classroom" (p. 5).

## IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to probe into the schemes of definitions and interpretations used by a grade 1 and a grade 2 teacher of French immersion as they planned lines of action for teaching social studies in French to students who were in the process of acquiring French as a second language. Given that there are many similarities between the grade 1 and the grade 2 teachers' contexts, the ideas, hypotheses, and insights generated in this study may be useful for understanding other French immersion situations.

A series of recommendations growing out of the conclusions are presented which hopefully will sensitize interested stakeholders, educators and researchers with an interest in French immersion to certain realities of the French immersion situation and to the possible needs of teachers and students in a French immersion situation.

The scenario sketched from the ideas, hypotheses, and insights generated from the data during the research project was the following: a complex interplay of external and internal elements appeared to influence the two French immersion teachers' judgments, decisions, and actions to trade-off social studies goals for second language development goals and child socialization goals. Some possible effects and needs arising from such a scenario include:

### Need to Develop Teachers' Commitment to Social Studies

Implications:

- It would appear that social studies in early French immersion is being used as an extension to the language arts program thereby limiting students' opportunities to develop meaningful social studies concepts and social inquiry skills. This implication suggests a need to address the following questions:

1. How can teachers of French immersion be assisted in developing a commitment to the purpose and goals of social studies in a democratic society?

2. How can teachers of French immersion be assisted in helping their students to become inquirers while at the same time learning the French language?

3. How can school administrators, policy-makers and curriculum decision makers assist teachers of French immersion in their complex task as second language teachers and as social studies teachers?

Recommendations Regarding Teacher Training.

Teachers or future teachers of French immersion could probably be helped to develop a commitment to the purpose and goals of social studies in the following ways:

1. In-service or pre-service training for social studies teaching could help teachers or future teachers of French immersion to: a) develop an awareness of the purpose and goals of social studies in a democratic society; b) look critically at their beliefs and assumptions about child socialization and citizenship development; and, c) critically explore the normative definitions of social studies teaching in French immersion as interpreted by the two teachers in this study (i.e. social studies teaching as vocabulary development and mastery in a teacher controlled and directed

situation).

2. Teachers or future teachers could probably develop a commitment to the inquiry process if during in-service or pre-service training they were given opportunities to become actively involved in inquiry activities, and if they were encouraged and assisted to plan inquiry oriented learning activities which take into consideration early elementary students' second language development.

3. Teachers or future teachers could probably be more open to innovative approaches to social studies teaching in a French immersion situation if they were encouraged to explore during training sessions the possible relationships between second language acquisition theories and models of social studies concept and inquiry development. Taped audio and video recordings of French immersion students participating in inquiry oriented activities could be used during training sessions as a means for assisting teachers or future teachers to reflect upon the kinds of possible verbal or non-verbal teaching strategies and activities they could use to involve students in inquiry processes and social studies concept development activities.

## Recommendations Regarding the Role of School Administrators, Resource Personnel, and Policy-Makers.

If teachers of French immersion have not received any formal social studies training, possibly their school administrators and resource personnel, policy-makers at different levels of the school system, and teachers' professional associations could do the following:

1. Offer incentives to these teachers to up-grade their

teaching skills in social studies.

2. Provide teachers of French immersion with moral, emotional, organizational, administrative, and material support including preparation time, in order to encourage them to adapt and implement social studies in their classrooms.

3. Make available to teachers of French immersion a social studies curriculum and resource materials which could provide them with examples and illustrations of possible teaching strategies which integrate social studies concepts and social inquiry processes with second language development goals.

4. Make available resource personnel such as a French speaking social studies consultant or resource person and a French speaking librarian who could assist teachers in organizing social studies knowledge and in locating and selecting resource materials.

5. Recognize teachers' efforts to innovate ways and means of integrating social studies and second language teaching, and encourage these teachers to provide demonstrations to other teachers. For example, teachers could view video-tapes of French immersion students who are involved in inquiry and social studies concept development activities. Such models could encourage teachers to develop an interest in the purpose and goals of social studies.

6. Encourage teachers to develop their own social studies themes and to involve their students in research projects which can then be shared with other teachers.

7. Provide opportunities for teachers with an interest in curriculum development to receive training in the art and science of

curriculum development for the French immersion situation.

8. Investigate such factors as relationships between classroom size and teachers' lack of commitment to social studies teaching. The problem of teacher anxieties concerning the purpose of standardized tests might also be examined.

9. The Alberta Teachers' Association Social Studies Specialist Council and the Conseil Français might consider organizing an open forum which addresses the state of the art of social studies teaching in early French immersion. Guest speakers could be invited to sensitize teachers that,

> Democratic attitudes, behaviors and values do not spontaneously unfold in the bosom of the child; he acquires them only as he learns them. The democratic way of life can renew itself only as the children of each successive generation reproduce in their own lives its principles, its techniques, its disciplines, its loyalties and its responsabilities. (Childs, 1950, pp. 13-14).

### Need to Make Stakeholders Aware of the Possibilities and Limitations of Achievable Goals in French Immersion

Implications.

It would appear that parental and school administrators' expectations and demands of French immersion schooling may be higher than students can possibly achieve thereby creating possible frustrating situations for teachers and students alike and influencing teachers' decisions to trade-off social studies goals for second language development goals. These implication suggest a need to address the following questions:

1. How can parents, school administrators and other interested stakeholders who perceive French immersion as a special

program, or who have expectations which may be higher than most students seem to be able to achieve be sensitized to the possibilities of actual achievable goals in a French immersion situation?

2. How can parents, school administators, and other interested stakeholders be sensitized to the importance for citizenship development of developing students' thinking and problem solving skills?

Recommendations.

1. Parents could be made aware by school administrators and teachers of possible realistic second language development goals in French immersion. Perhaps the example provided in the data of how the grades 1 and 2 teachers have had to negotiate with parents their normative definitions of the principles of second language acquisition and of when to expect that grade 1 children will begin reading and writing will assist school administrators in understanding parents and teachers' concerns and anxieties.

2. In order to develop parental awareness of the realities of French immersion classroom life, the two teachers invited parents to participate in school and classroom activities. Such a practice could be encouraged by teachers in order to minimize parental anxieties and expectations about their children's schooling. Furthermore, parents could be invited to attend forums where topics such as the purpose and goals of social studies and citizenship development are explained and open for debate.

3. The two teachers perceived a need for immersion students

to experience French outside of the classroom. Possibly parents could approach school boards involved in French immersion in an effort to set up extra-curricular cultural activities "en français" for parents and their children.

### Need for Research Into Social Studies Teaching in French Immersion

The conclusion that the two teachers traded-off social studies goals such as social studies concept development, inquiry skill development, and value clarification experiences for second language development goals and child socialization goals suggests a need for further research as follows:

1. Research aimed at developing models of teaching which could link second language development theories with the development of social studies concepts and inquiry skills and processes. For example, a researcher could attempt to link interaction-oriented models (i.e. social inquiry models proposed by Massialas and Cox; inductive teaching models proposed by Taba; concept attainment models proposed by theorists such as Bruner; group investigation models proposed by Thelen and Dewey--a source of reference for these models can be found in Bruce Joyce and Marsha Weil, Models of Teaching. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972) to second language acquisition models and theories from the field of sociolinguistics, and anthropological models and theories which explore the relationships between language, culture, and social structure.

2. Longitudinal studies might be carried out in order to identify effective second language teaching methodologies and strategies which can be integrated with social studies concept

development and the development of inquiry skills and processes.

3. A series of longtitudinal studies could be undertaken which address the question of what constitutes successful teaching of social studies in a French immersion situation.

4. An on-going evaluation of social studies implementation in French immersion could be carried out by school boards involved in French immersion in conjunction with Alberta Education. Also, as Alberta Education social studies teaching units are validated by French immersion teachers, an ethnographic study could be carried out. The doctoral dissertation of Noel Harvey Boag, "Teacher Perception of Curricular Change," University of Alberta, spring 1980, could provide an interested researcher with a basis for conducting such a study. Prior to and after experimenting the teaching units questionnaires and tests could be given to students on the content, inquiry processes, and concepts in order to measure any changes in students' second language development, concept attainment, and decision-making skills.

5. Exploratory qualitative studies could be undertaken which probe in more depth into the question of how French immersion students' limited knowledge of the French language is a creator of teachers' and school administrators' background assumptions and typification concepts of immersion students' abilities, potentials, and cognitive or affective problems.

6. Further studies could be carried out in order to inquire into the question of how and to what degree subject matter is being used as a vehicle to second language learning in early French

immersion and what may be the possible implications of emphasizing second language development goals instead of subject matter goals.

7. The question of normative standards in French immersion could be further studied from a sociology of knowledge and symbolic interactionist perspective in order to determine how definitions of French immersion as a special "status" type of program influences teachers', adminstrators' and policy-makers' decisions.

8. Further studies could also be undertaken which explore the relationship between teachers' perceptions of the role they are expected to take and make as teachers of French immersion and their commitment or lack of commitment to the purpose and goals of social studies.

9. Studies from a phenomenological or ethnomethodological perspective could be carried out which explore the question of how immersion students attempt to make sense or meaning of their second language learning situation.

## Methodological Limitations

In order to probe into teachers' schemes of definitions and interpretations underlying their social studies knowledge selection and organization for the French immersion situation the methodological guidelines of symbolic interactionism were fruitful for exploring a new field of study. A few of the limitations of using a limited participant observation method triangulated with unstructured interviewing and document examination are as follows:

1. The methodology allowed the participants to talk freely

about their situation. Given that the time for interviews had to be scheduled and the interviews had a time limit of only half an hour it was not always possible to probe in more depth into certain problems, issues or topics generated by the teachers. During a follow-up interview it was not always possible to return to what the teachers had talked about during the previous interview as any interruption of what they were talking about in order to return to a previous topic might have affected their willingness to talk openly about their situation. Anyone wishing to use an unstructured interview technique would have to make sure that the teachers have more time to devote to an interview thereby allowing the researcher more opportunities to return to previous topics generated by the teachers.

2. Conducting an unstructured interview is not an easy task as the researcher has to refrain from imposing her definitions of the situation upon others. Sometimes the teachers would talk about subjects which at the time appeared to bear no relevance to the project but as these subjects were meaningful to the teachers' lived-experiences, and as the researcher-participant relationship is crucial in such a study the researcher had to quickly learn to be patient, tolerant, and understanding of the teachers' situation.

3. Another element could be added in the triangulated methodology so that it could include interviews with teachers' colleagues and school administrators they refer to in order to substantiate from another point of view the teachers' definition of the situation.

4. A study which aims to investigate the relationship

between second language teaching and subject matter teaching is a complex undertaking. Possibly in order to begin testing hypotheses of these relationships more time could be spent observing classroom interactions and a video-tape could be used and triangulated with interviews, document examination, and interviews with students.

5. The verification by the teachers of the interview transcripts enhanced the data interpretations and their validity. Possibly the same procedures could be carried out with all the classroom observation transcripts rather than waiting to present the participants with a first analysis of the data.

6. The long and arduous task of sorting data into categories for the purpose of analysis could possibly be better systemized with the use of a computer.

Even though a few limitations of the methodology used in this study were identified, the methodology used was deemed appropriate for exploring a new area of research into French immersion as several important insights, ideas, and hypotheses were generated which might possibly interest other researchers to further investigate the relationships between a complexity of variables affecting teacher decision-making in a French immersion situation.

## Evaluating the Perspective of Symbolic Interactionism

There were several advantages and disadvantages to conducting a study into French immersion teachers' world of meanings from a symbolic interactionist perspective:

Advantages:

1. Symbolic interactionism provided the researcher with a

way of viewing and making sense out of multiple realities which are context-bound.

2. The perspective of symbolic interactionism clarifies for the reader the basic assumptions about a view of man and the social world underlying the researcher's statement of the problem, and helps to make explicit to the reader the set of beliefs and values underlying the techniques and methodological rules selected and pursued by the researcher in order to probe into the teachers' world of meanings.

3. The sensitizing concepts of symbolic interactionism provided the researcher with a cognitive map or a guide of things to look for which she used to make sense out of a chaotic reality. The assumptions and sensitizing concepts of symbolic interactionism, once tested in the French immersion situation, were found to be congruent with the phenomenon being investigated as the sensitizing concepts represented the teachers' meaningful descriptions of their definition of the situation. For example, the sensitizing concept of "typification," helped the researcher to explain the teachers' definitions of children such as "les tortues," "les élites," and "les moutons." The concept of "negotiation" helped to account for the teachers' explanations of having to make deals with different types of students during classroom interaction in order to maintain a normative classroom situation.

4. The theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism provided the researcher with a set of conceptual tools for communicating to the reader what she meant when she used a particular

concept or conceptual categories in her report of the data findings. For example, the term "interpretation" as used in this study from a symbolic interactionist perspective has a different meaning than the term "interpretation" used by behaviorists or phenomenologists. The term,"role" defined from a symbolic interactionist perspective has a different meaning than if defined from a structural-functionalist perspective. By making explicit to the reader the theoretical perspective underlying the analytical framework used for making sense out of the data, the researcher can feel more confident that a common discourse or communication can take place between herself and the reader.

Disadvantages.

1. The perspective of symbolic interactionism which guided the research project may have directed the researcher to pay more attention to the external elements influencing teachers' decisions thereby limiting her from inquiring into how intersubjective elements such as teachers' intentionality, tacit knowledge, or emotions and feelings might have influenced their curricular judgments, decisions, and actions. Because the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism focuses more on action as being a cognitive rational process than action as a purposive, or intersubjective process the researcher was somewhat limited in her attempt to explain the relationships between the teachers' curricular actions and their statements describing their feelings of frustration and alienation. Possibly a phenomenological analytical approach could have helped the researcher in her attempt to explain the role which emotions and

feelings play on teachers' decisions and actions.

2. The sensitizing concepts drawn from symbolic interactionism may have limited the researcher from generating new concepts. Symbolic interactionism pushed the researcher to focus so much on a wide variety of social interaction aspects that she may have neglected to look more closely at the physical and environmental aspects of the two teachers' situation. For example, how does having 32 students with a limited knowledge of the French language influence the grade 1 teacher's social studies decisions and actions?

3. The perspective of symbolic interactionism may have limited the researcher's flexibility to build upon tacit knowledge, that is knowledge such as intuition, apprehension, and feelings about the situation investigated.

The epistemological and ontological basis of a theoretical perspective for inquiry determines to a large degree what a researcher can know and say about reality and suggests the procedures to be used to investigate and analyze that reality. No matter what theoretical perspective a researcher selects for inquiring into an aspect of social reality, there are aspects of that reality which will be disregarded or left out as it is not humanly possible to grasp all aspects of multiple realities. The major advantage of a theoretical perspective such as symbolic interactionism for studying teacher decision-making in a school situation is that it provides a researcher with a set of definitional and analytical concepts or a common language for communicating and sharing with others what has been observed and interpreted.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alberta Education. 1981 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition. Edmonton: Alberta Education, 1981.

Alberta Education. Guide pédagogique du français, élémentaire, 2ieme cycle. Edition interimaire. Edmonton: Alberta Education, 1978.

Alberta Education. 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition. Edmonton: Alberta Education, 1978.

Apple, Michael W. Ideology and Curriculum. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1979.

Apple, Michael W. "Scientific Interests and the Nature of Educational Institutions." Curriculum Theorizing. The Reconceptualists. Edited by William Pinar. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1975, 120-132.

Ayer, A. J. The Problem of Knowledge. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1956.

Barik, Henri C., and Swain, Merrill. "Primary Grade French Immersion in a Unilingual English-Canadian Setting: The Toronto Study Through Grade 2." Canadian Journal of Education. I (1976), 39-58.

Barnes, Barry. Interests and the Growth of Knowledge. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1977.

Barnes, Douglas. From Communication to Curriculum. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975.

Barr, R. "School, Class, Group, and Pace Effects on Learning." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, April, 1980.

Barr, R. D.; Barth, J. D.; and Shermis, S. S. Defining the Social Studies. Arlington, Va.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977.

Becker, H. S. "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation." American Sociological Review. 23 (1958), 652-660.

Becker, H. S., and Geer, B. B. "Participation Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison." Human Organization. 16 (1957), 28-32.

Berger, Peter L., and Luckmann, Thomas. The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967.

Bernstein, Basil. "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge." Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education. Edited by F. D. Young. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971, 47-69.

Bibeau, Gilles. "No Easy Road to Bilingualism." Language and Society. 12 (1984), 44-47.

Black, James A., and Champion, Dean J. Methods and Issues in Social Research. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1976.

Blum, Alan F. "The Corpus of Knowledge as a Normative Order." Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education. Edited by F. D. Young. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971, 117-132.

Blumer, Herbert. Symbolic Interactionism. Perpsective and Method. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.

Blumer, Herbert. "Society as Symbolic Interaction." Symbolic Interaction. A Reader in Social Psychology. Edited by Jerome G. Manis, and Bernard N. Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, 139-148.

Boag, Noel Harvey. "Teacher Perception of Curricular Change." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1980.

Bonner, Hubert. On Being Mindful of Man. Essay Toward a Proactive Psychology. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965.

Brandt, Richard M. Studying Behavior in Natural Settings. Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972.

Brimfield, Renee M. B.; Roderick, Jessie A.; and Yamomoto, Kaouru. "Person as Researchers: Observations of the Participants." Curriculum Inquiry. 13 (1983), 5-21.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. "The Experimental Ecology of Education." Educational Researcher. 5 (1976), 5-15.

Broudy, Harry S. "Mastery." Language and Concepts in Education. Edited by B. O Smith, and R. H. Ennis. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961.

Bruck, Margaret. "Problems in Early French Immersion Programs." So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents.

Edited by Beth Mclacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 42-47.

Bruyn, S. Human Perspective in Sociology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Burrell, Gibson, and Morgan, Gareth. Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis. London: Heinemann, 1979.

Calgary Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 1. Bilingual Task Force Report. Board of Trustees. Meeting No. 23-78-79. May, 1979.

Capra, Fritjof. The Tao of Physics. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachussetts Institute of Technology, 1975.

Carrothers, Jane. "Why Bilingualism?" So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents. Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 4-8.

Charles, C. M. Educational Psychology: The Instructional Endeavor. Saint Louis: The C. V. Mosley Company, 1976.

Chaudron, Craig. "Teachers' Priorities in Correcting Learners' Errors in French Immersion Classes." Working Papers on Bilingualism. Edited by Merrill Swain, and Craig Chaudron. Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 12 (1977), 21-44.

Childs, John L. Education and Morals. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.

Chisholm, Roderick M. Theory of Knowledge. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

Cook, J. A. "Language and Socialization." Schooling in the Cultural Context. Edited by Joan I. Roberts, and Sherrie K. Akinsanya. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976, 341-352.

Cooley, Charles Horton. "The Roots of Social Knowledge." Symbolic Interaction. A Reader in Social Psychology. Edited by Jerome G. Manis, and Bernard N. Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, 68-83.

Cummins, James. "Cognitive Development and Early French Immersion." So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents. Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 28-33.

Cummins, James. "The Influence of Bilingualism on Cognitive Growth:

A Synthesis of Research Findings and Explanatory Hypothesis." Working Papers on Bilingualism. Edited by Merrill Swain, and Guy Dumas. Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 9 (April, 1976), 1-43.

Cziko, Gary A.; Lambert, Wallace E.; Sidoti, Kelly; and Tucker, G. Richard. "Graduates of Early Immersion: Retrospective Views of Grade 11 Students and Their Parents." So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents. Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Iabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 48-53.

Davies, Brian. Social Control and Education. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1976.

Delamont, Sara. Interaction in the Classroom. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1976.

Denzin, Norman K. "The Methodologies of Symbolic Interaction: A Critical Review of Research Techniques." Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction. Edited by Gregory P. Stone, and Harvey A. Farberman. Massachusetts: Ginn & Co., 1970, 447-465.

Devon, Richard R. "Cause for a New Paradigm: Ideology and Salience in Political Socialization Research." The Generator. 12 (1982), 35-47.

Diener, Edward, and Crandall, Rick. Ethics in Social and Behavioral Research. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Downey, L. W., and Associates. The Social Studies in Alberta-1975. A Report of an Assessment. Edmonton, Alberta: L. W. Downey Research Associates Ltd., 1975.

Downey, Muriel, and Kelly, A. V. Theory and Practice of Education. An Introduction. 2nd ed. London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1979.

Dueck, Kathy. "Political Socialization: The Role of Schools and Teachers in Developing Loyalty to Politics and Political Actors." One World. XVIII (1980), 25-35.

Duhamel, Ronald J. "Bilingual Immersion." Education Canada. 16 (1976), 28-35.

Duigan, Patrick A. "Ethnography" An Adventure in Interpretive Research." The Alberta Journal of Educational Research. XVIII (1981), 285-297.

Dunkin, Michael J., and Biddle, Bruce J. The Study of Teaching. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974.

Ehman, Lee H. "Research on Social Studies Curriculum and Instruction: Values." Review of Research in Social Studies Education: 1970-1975. Edited by Francis P. Hunkins; Lee H. Ehman; Peter H. Martorella; Carole L. Hahn; and Jan L. Tucker. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977, 55-95.

Eisner, Elliot W. "Anastasia Might Still be Alive But the Monarchy is Dead." Educational Researcher. 12 (1983), 13-24.

Eisner, Elliot W., and Vallance, Elizabeth, eds. Conflicting Conceptions of Curriculum. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1974, 1-18.

Esland, Geoffrey M. "Teaching and Learning as the Organization of Knowledge." Knowledge and Control. New Directions for the Sociology of Education. Edited by Michael F. D. Young. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971, 70-116.

Fetterman, David M. "Ethnography in Educational Research: The Dynamics of Diffusion." Educational Researcher. 11 (1982), 17-22.

Foshay, Arthur W., and Burton, William W. "Citizenship as the Aim of Social Studies." Theory and Research in Social Education. 4 (1976), 1-22.

Freire, Paulo. "The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom." Harvard Educational Review. 40 (1970), 205-225.

Furlong, V. A., and Edwards, A. D. "Language in Classroom Interaction: Theory and Data." Educational Research. 19 (1977), 122-128.

Geer, Blanch. "First Days in the Field." Issues in Participant Observation. Edited by G. McCall, and J. L. Simmons. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

Geertz, C. The Interpretation of Culture. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Genesee, Fred. "Beyond Bilingualism--Some Social Aspects of French Immersion." So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents. Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 35-41.

Glaser, Barney G., and Strauss, Anselm L. The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967.

Glaser, B. G. "The Constant Comparative Method of Quantitative Analysis." Social Problems. 12 (1965), 436-445.

Good, Carter V. *Essentials of Educational Research. Methodology and Design.* 2nd ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1972.

Greenfield, T. Barr. "Bilingualism, Multiculturalism, and the Crisis of Purpose in Canadian Culture." *Bilingualism in Canadian Education: Bilingual Research.* CSSE Yearbook. 3 (1976), 107-136.

Guba, Egon G. "Criteria for Assessing the Trustworthiness of Naturalistic Inquiries." ERIC/ECTJ Annual Review Paper. (Educational Resources Information Center). Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University, 29 (1978), 75-91.

Hamlyn, D. W. *The Theory of Knowledge.* New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970.

Harley, Birgit, and Swain, Merrill. "An Analysis of Verb Form and Function in the Speech of French Immersion Pupils." *Working Papers on Bilingualism.* Edited by Merrill Swain and Craig Chaudron. Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 14 (1977), 31-46.

Hatch, E. "Discourse Analysis and Second Language Acquisition." *Second Language Acquisition: A Book of Readings.* Rowly, Mass.: Newbury House, 1978.

Heisenberg, Werner. *Physics and Philosophy.* New York: Harper & Row, 1958.

Helmstadter, G. C. *Research Concepts in Human Behavior.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970.

Hersom, Naomi. "On Ways of Knowing, Knowers, and the Known." A paper presented at the University of Winnipeg, March 9, 1974.

Hewitt, John P. *Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology.* 2nd ed. Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1979.

Holmes, Mark. "The Impact of Educational Research. Some Conclusions From Recent Canadian Experience." *Education Canada.* 21 (1981), 22-29.

Howe, Harold II. "Research in Education--What's Wrong with It?" *Educational Research.* 1976, 8-11.

Hunkins, Francis P. "Social Studies Research: Present and Future." *Review of Research in Social Studies Education: 1970-1975.* Edited by Francis P. Hunkins; Lee H. Ehman; Peter H. Martorella; Carole L. Hahn; and Jan L. Tucker. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977, 179-199.

Israel, Joachim. "Stipulations and Construction in the Social

Sciences." *The Context of Social Psychology. A Critical Assessment.* Edited by Joachim Israel, and Henri Tajfel. London, NW1: Academic Press Inc. (London) Ltd., 1972.

Jackson, Philip, and Kieslar, Sara B. "Fundamental Research and Education." *Educational Researcher.* 6 (1977), 13-18.

Janesick, Valeria Jeanette. "An Ethnographic Study of a Teacher's Classroom Perspective." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977.

Johnson, Earl S. "Ways of Knowing." *The Nature of Knowledge.* Edited by William A. Jenkins. Milwaukee, WI.: The Edward A. Uhrig Foundation, 1961.

Joyce, Bruce, and Weil, Marsha. *Models of Teaching.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.

Keddie, Nell. "Classroom Knowledge." *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education.* Edited by F. D. Young. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971, 133-160.

King, Nancy, and Apple, Michael. "Economics and Control in Everyday School Life." *Ideology and Curriculum.* Edited by Michael Apple. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, 43-60.

Kuhn, Manford H. "Major Trends in Symbolic Interaction in the Past Twenty-five Years." *Symbolic Interaction. A Reader in Social Psychology.* Edited by Jerome G. Manis, and Bernard N. Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, 46-67.

Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Lambert, W. E., ed. *Language, Psychology and Culture.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univesity Press, 1972.

Lambert, Wallace E., and Peal, Elizabeth. "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence." *Language, Psychology and Culture.* Edited by Wallace E. Lambert. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972, 111-159.

LeCompte, Margaret D., and Goetz, Judith Preissle. "Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research." *Review of Educational Research.* 52 (1982), 31-60.

Levine, R. J. "The Nature and Definition of Informed Consent in Various Research Settings." Paper presented for the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. Bethesda, Md.: U. S. Department of Health

Education, and Welfare, 1975a.

Li, Peter. Social Research Methods. An Introduction. Toronto: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1981.

Lutz, Frank W., and Ramsay, Margaret A. "The Use of Anthropological Field Methods in Education." Educational Researcher. 3 (1974), 5-9.

Lutz, F. W., and Iannaccone, L. Understanding Educational Organizations: A Field Study Approach. Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969.

McGillivray, W. R. "Administrative Problems of Early Immersion." So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents. Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 106-110.

McLaughlin, Barry. "Second Language Acquisition." Encyclopedia of Educational Research. Edited by Harold E. Mitzel. New York: American Educational Research Association, 4 (1982), 1675-1683.

MacKay, D. A., and Marland, P. W. "Thought Processes of Teachers." Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, March, 1978.

MacKay, William F. "Safeguarding Language in Schools." Language and Society. 4 (1981), 10-14.

Macnamara, John. "The Objectives of Bilingual Education in Canada from an English-Speaking Perspective." Bilingual Schooling. Some Experiences in Canada and the United States. A Report on the Bilingual Education Conference. Edited by Merrill Swain. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972, 7-10.

Mahe, Yvette T. M. "Social Studies and French Immersion." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation Proposal Presented to the Department of Elementary Education, The University of Alberta, August 26, 1980.

Mannheim, Karl. Ideology and Utopia. Translated from the German by Louis Wirth, and Eward Shils. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1936.

Manson, Gary; Ochoa, Anna; Marker, Gerald; and Tucker, Jan. "Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines. The NCSS Task Force on Curriculum Guidelines." Reading for Social Studies in Elementary Education. Edited by John Jarolimek, and Huber M. Walsh. 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974, 9-31.

Martin, Wilfred B. W. "Teacher-pupil Interactions: A Negotiation

Perspective." The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. 2 (1975), 529-540.

Martorella, Peter H. "Research on Social Studies Learning and Instruction: Cognition." Review of Research in Social Studies Education: 1970-1975. Francis P. Hunkins; Lee H. Ehman; Peter H. Martorella; Carole L. Hahn; and Jan L. Tucker. Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977, 15-53.

Mead, George H. Mind, Self & Society. Edited by Charles W. Morris. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934.

Meltzer, Bernard N. "Mead's Social Psychology." Symbolic Interaction. A Reader in Social Psychology. Edited by Jerome G. Manis, and Bernard N. Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, 5-24.

Mezynski, Karen. "Issues Concerning the Acquisition of Knowledge: Effects of Vocabulary Training on Reading Comprehension." Review of Educational Research. 53 (1983), 253-279.

Morrison, Mary Lou. "French Immersion: How to Keep It." So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents. Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 103-105.

Nelson, Murry, and Cornbleth, Catherine. "Social Studies Research and Classroom Teachers: Open the Door Wider." Social Education. 46 (1982), 218-220.

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "Theoretical Perspectives on Bilingual Education Programs." Working Papers on Bilingualism. Edited by Merrill Swain, and Craig Chaudron. Toronto, Ontario.: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 13 (1977), 130-180.

Phillips, D. C. "After the Wake: Postpositivistic Educational Thought." Educational Researcher. 12 (1983), 4-12.

Pohland, Paul. "Participant Observation as a Research Methodology." Studies in Art Education. 13 (1972).

Polanyi, Michael. Knowing and Being. Edited by Marjorie Grene. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Ponder, Gerald, and Davis, O. L. Jr. "Social Studies Education." Encyclopedia of Educational Research. Edited by Harold E. Mitzel. 5th ed. New York: American Educational Research Association, 4 (1982), 1723-1732.

Rist, R. C. "On the Means of Knowing: Qualitative Research in

Education." New York University Education Quarterly. 10 (1979), 17-21.

Roberts, Stanley C. "Sense and Sensibility in the West." Language and Society. 4 (1981), 3-6.

Roszak, T. The Making of a Counterculture. New York: Anchor Books, 1969.

Ryle, Gilbert. The Concept of Mind. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1949.

Saville, Muriel R., and Troike, Rudolph C. A Handbook of Bilingual Education. Washington, D.C.: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1971.

Schatzman, L., and Straus, A. L. Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Shapson, Stan, and Kaufman, David. "French Immersion: A Western Perspective." Canadian Society for the Study of Education. Year Book, 3 (1976), 8-25.

Shavelson, Richard J., and Stern, Paula. "Research on Teachers' Pedagogical Thoughts, Judgments, Decisions, and Behavior." Review of Educational Research. 51 (1981), 455-498.

Shaver, James P.; Davis, O. L.; and Helburn, Suzanne M. "An Interpretive Report on the Status of Precollege Social Studies Education Based on Three NSF Funded Studies." Social Education. 43 (1979), 3-18.

Shaver, James P., and Larkins, A. Guy. "Research on Teaching Social Studies." Second Handbook of Research on Teaching. R. M. W. Travers, ed. Chicago: American Educational Research Association, 1973, 1243-1262.

Smith, Davis, and Kelebay, Gregory. "History in French Immersion Programmes." The History and Social Science Teacher. 14 (1979), 241-250.

Smith, David M. "Ethnographic Monitoring: A Way to Understanding by Those Who are Making Schooling Work." The Generator. 12 (1981), 69-92.

Smith, John K. "Quantitative Versus Qualitative Research: An Attempt to Clarify the Issue." Educational Researcher. 12 (1983), 6-13.

Smith, L. M., and Geoffrey, W. The Complexities of an Urban Classroom: An Analysis Toward a General Theory of Education. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968.

Soltis, Jonas F. An Introduction to the Analysis of Educational Concepts. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968.

Sontag, M. "Attitudes Toward Education and Perception of Teacher Behaviors." American Educational Research Journal. 5 (1968), 385-402.

Spradley, James P. The Ethnographic Interview. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979.

Squire, James R. "Language Concepts for Application to the Social Studies." Social Education. 46 (1982), 442-443.

Stenhouse, Lawrence. An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1975.

Stern, H. H. "Immersion Schools and Language Learning." Language and Society. 5 (1981), 3-6.

Stern, H. H. "Introduction." A Report on the Bilingual Education Conference. Some Experiences in Canada and the United States. Edited by Merrill Swain. Toronto, Ont.: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1972, 1.

Strauss, Anselm. Negotiations. Varieties, Contexts, Processes, and Social Order. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978.

Strauss, Anselm, ed. George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology. Selected Papers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Swain, M., and Bruck, M. eds. "Conference Proceedings: Research on Immersion Education for the Majority Child." Canadian Modern Language Review. 5 (1976).

Taba, Hilda. Curriculum Development. Theory and Practice. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962.

Thomas, William I. "The Definition of the Situation." Symbolic Interaction. A Reader in Social Psychology. Edited by Jerome G. Manis, and Bernard N. Meltzer. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, 315-321.

Thomas, W. I., and Thomas, E. S. The Child in America. New York: Knopf, 1928.

Tucker, Jan. L. "Research on Social Studies Teaching and Teacher Education." Review of Research in Social Studies Education: 1970-1975. Edited by Francis Hunkins; Lee H. Ehman, Peter H. Martorella; Carole L. Hahn; and Jan L. Tucker. Washington,

D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977, 99-135.

Waller, Williard. "The Definition of the Situation." *Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction.* Edited by Gregory P. Stone, and Harvey A. Farberman. Waltham, Massachusetts: Ginn & Co., 1970, 162-174.

Walker, William L. "Wanted--Social Studies in the Primary Grades." *Readings for Social Studies in Elementary Education.* Edited by John Jarolimek, and Huber M. Walsh. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974, 41-45.

Wightman, Peggy. "French Immersion: An Educational Alternative." *So You Want Your Child to Learn French! A Handbook for Parents.* Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 54-65.

Wilson, Stephen. "The Use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research." *Review of Education Research.* 47 (1977), 245-265.

Wolcott, Harry. "Criteria for an Ethnographic Approach to Research in Schools." *Schooling in the Cultural Context. Anthropological Studies in Education.* Edited by Joan I. Roberts, and Sherrie K. Akinsanya. New York: Davis McKay Company, Inc., 1976, 23-44.

Wolcott, H. F. *The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973.

Wong-Fillmore, L. "The Second Time Around: Cognitive and Social Strategies in Second Language Acquisition." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, 1976.

Yalden, Janice. "Methods in Language Teaching." *So You Want Your Child to Learn French. A Handbook for Parents.* Edited by Beth Mlacak, and Elaine Isabelle. Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979, 12-19.

Young, Michael F. D. "An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organized Knowledge." *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education.* Edited by F. D. Young. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971, 19-46.

Zais, Robert S. *Curriculum Principles and Foundations.* New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1976.

Zigarmi, Drea, and Zigarmi, Patrice. "A Personal View of the Stresses of Being an Ethnographer." *Journal of Classroom Interaction.* 16 (1980), 19-24.

Zukav, Gary. *The Dancing Wu Li Masters. An Overview of the New Physics.* New York: Bantam Books, 1979.

# APPENDIX "A"

## CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

The following is an example of a classroom observation transcript taken from the researcher's field notes. In order to preserve the anonymity of the teacher and her school pseudonyms have been used in this trancript.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION: Marie - Grade 2 Teacher
October 30, 1980 - 10:50 - 11:40

THEME: Halloween - Pumpkin Cutting Day.

ENTRY OBSERVATION: Words written on board:

citrouille; Jack-O-Lantern; tailler (couper); couteau; dessiner; crayon de feutre; 2 yeux - diamant; 1 nez - diamant; 1 bouche - heureuse; 7 dents; 1 chapeau; dentellé.

INTERACTIONS: Students were determining with the teacher the shape of the proposed Jack-O-Lantern. At the same time they were being taught vocabulary for describing the Jack-O-Lantern. The students voted on the shape of the hat for the Jack-O-Lantern by a show of hands. The majority decision was accepted.

Marie: "Qu'est-ce qu'on va trouver dans la citrouille?"
Ss. "Graines." (Marie wrote "graines" on the board).
Marie: "Des graines." (students repeat)
On va trouver de la pulpe. Pumpkin pulp. Qu'est-ce qu'on peut faire avec de la pulpe?"
Ss. "Des tartes." "Du pain de citrouille."
Marie: "M____ m'a apporté l'autre jour du pain de citrouille. C'était bon!"

NOTE: In the prior lesson I observed that when one student talked about the pumpkin bread his mother made Marie asked him to ask his mother to make some for his friends to taste. M___ was the same student.

Marie: "Quelle autre chose qu'on peut faire avec la pulpe?"
Ss. "Un gâteau." "Font des biscuits."
Marie: "Qu'est-ce qu'on va faire avec les graines?"
S1. "On va les mettre dans le four."

OBSERVATION: The following short text about Halloween was written on the board: "Pour fêter l'Hallowe'en nous allons faire un Jack-O'-Lantern avec une belle grosse citrouille. On va lui faire un nez, deux yeux, une bouche, et des dents, ainsi qu'un chapeau. Regarde!"

Marie: "Qu'est-ce qu'on va faire avec le Jack-O'-Lantern?"
S2. "On va mettre une chandelle."
Marie: "Quel autre mot?"
S3. "Une bougie."
Marie: "Où est-ce qu'on met le Jack-O'-Lantern?"
S4. "Dans la fenêtre."
Marie: "Pour que les enfants voient le Jack-O'-Lantern." Qu'est-ce que les enfants vont faire?"
S5. "Vont à la maison."
Marie: "Qu'est-ce que tu vas faire à la maison?"
Ss. "Crier truc ou bonbon!"
Marie: "Avant, qu'est-ce qu'ils vont faire?"
S6. "Mettre ton costume."
Marie: "Elle vient juste de dire ça. M___ dit que tu sonnes à la porte."
Ss. "Tu fais knock, knock, knock." (students knocking on their desks).
Marie: "Tu frappes à la porte. Vous n'allez pas crier truc ou bonbon mais, "Trick or Treat!" (Marie shows objects to be used for cutting the pumpkin and students name objects).
Ss. "Un feutre, un couteau, une cuillère, fourchette."
Marie: "Je vois des mains salles. Moi je ne mangerai pas les graines salles. On va se laver les mains. Bon! La première rangée, allez-vous laver les mains. Voulez vous serrer vos crayons, vos effaces. S____ come here! Did you take a bath last night? (Marie examines his ears). From the dirt in your ears it looks like you have not taken a bath for a long time. Wash your arms also. S____ vas donc me chercher du papier journal. (Marie placed the big pumpkin on a small table in front of the class. The table was covered with newsprint. She waited for the children to come back from washing their hands). Les autres venez vous asseoir autour de la table. Pas trop proche.

Vous allez glisser vos chemises jusqu'en haut du coude. Qu'est-ce qu'on fait? Quel est le mot d'action?"

S1. "Ecrire."

Marie: "Ce n'est pas écrire, c'est?" (Marie carries out all the actions on the pumpkin, and as she proceeds from one step to another in cutting up the pumpkin she asks students directions as to what comes next and how it can be done).

S2. "On dessine."

Marie: "La première chose."

S3. "On dessine les yeux."

Marie: "On commence avec le chapeau. Quel sorte de chapeau est-ce qu'on va avoir?

S4. "Dentellé."

Marie: "Maintenant, qu'est-ce qu'on dessine?"

Ss. "Les yeux."

Marie: "Les yeux sont en forme de?"

Ss. "Diamants."

Marie: "Il y a combien de yeux?"

Ss. "Deux yeux."

Marie: "Maintenant on dessine?"

Ss. "Le nez."

Marie: "En forme de?"

Ss. "Diamants."

Marie: "Je dessine les dents. Si on en a quatre en bas on en veut combien en haut?"

Ss. "Trois."

Marie: "Maintenant on?"

Ss. "Coupe."

Marie: "Je veux personne près de mes bras. Moi, je ne coupe pas la citrouille si vous ne vous asseyez pas. Qu'est-ce que c'est la petite contine? Le bonhomme O_____? (Marie and students recite in chorus: "Coco dodu assis sur un mur. Coco dodu va tomber c'est sur. Les soldats des rois, en passant par ... " They were reciting Humpty Dumpty). Si on échappe la citrouille ça deviendra un coco dodu tout cassé. (Addressing a particular student, "Si tu parlais en français je te laisserais faire mais tu parles toujours en anglais alors je ne te laisse pas faire." (Marie began to remove the top of the pumpkin."

Ss. "Oh! Oh! Ahh! Ahh!"

Marie: "On voit de la?"

Ss. "Pulpe."

Marie: "Alors, on a dit qu'on va enlever les graines, les faire cuire. M____, viens enlever des graines. Tu aimes ça? S____, viens. St____, viens, ... " (Marie continued calling individual students to come and remove seeds from the inside of the pumpkin. She gave the students a kleenex to wipe their hands). "Regardez bien dans la citrouille. On voit des graines

dans la pulpe. Il faut faire vite. Bientot ça va
être l'heure du dîner. B____, C____. Qu'est ce que
vous avez toucher avec vos mains?"

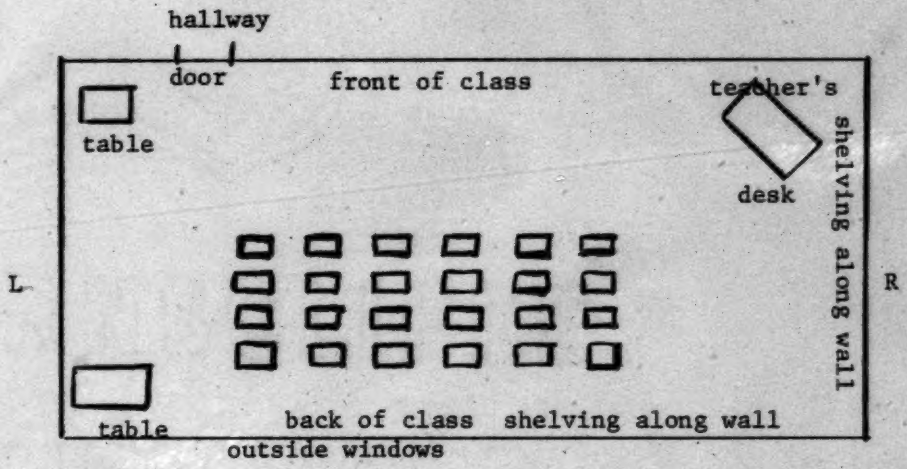
Ss. "La pulpe et les graines.

Marie: "On va finir à la récréation cette après-midi.

OBSERVED: A mother came in and said, "Oh! Isn't that beautiful!" The mother was wearing a white T-shirt with BONJOUR written on it. She asked Marie, "Do you want the seeds? I will save mine for you." BUZZER.

INFORMAL CHAT WITH MARIE: After the students left Marie advised me that tomorrow the children will be having their Halloween party. She invited me to attend a curriculum revision committee meeting of the grades 1 and 2 teachers which will be held next Wednesday, November 5, at 4:15 p.m. at Marion Elementary School. The purpose of the meeting is to make revisions to the various French immersion programs, including social studies, language arts, etc. These programs will be discussed and decisions made about them. The students came back into the room for lunch and as they ate their lunches Marie continued taking out the pulp from the pumpkin. She asked me how I enjoyed the activity. I said that it was really enjoyable. I then inquired about her health as the last time I came in to observe her class she had to leave early to see a doctor. She told me that she was given muscle relaxants. Her back is still hurting her. She said that it was tension and pressure. She is extremely busy at school. She gets up at 6:30 in the morning and said that she is faced with a husband and children who need attention, then she spends all day with the students and upon returning home people are talking all the time. She said that she is presently having problems at home. Her father is staying with them and he doesn't realize that she needs her moments of peace and quiet. Her father has the television blaring when he is not talking. Her husband has just purchased a business and Marie has to look after the books and the financial aspects of the business. Many important financial decisions have to be made and Marie says she does not sleep well as she worries about what should done. She then discusses what she feels to be the right decisions with her husband in the morning.

CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT: On the right hand side: Numbers 0 - 10 are affixed above a tack board across the length of the wall with pictures of numbers. Below numbers are other sets of pictures of people, including children, with the following action verbs written across them: Il a soif; elle a peur; il arrose; il attache; elle a chaud; il a faim; elle accourt; elle ajoute; il allume; il arrive; il achète; ils s'amusent; il attrape; ils s'aiment; il attend; ils vont; ils vont; il arrête; il aide; il appelle; il avance; il a froid. There is also a large display board with vowel sounds. Shelving is to be found underneath the display tack board which contain books, boxes, papers, a 35 millemeter projector. At the back of the room are windows and a table (on the left hand side. On the left-hand side there is a film screen and a board. A display poster which says, "We are bubbling for reading. Another large display entitled, "The Meat Group" with the following categories: from animals, fish and seafood, from plants. Near the back, (left), a display of student drawings representing fall can be seen. A record player and a large cassette can be seen at the back left hand side of the room. In the front above the board is a display of letters of the alphabet written in upper case and lower case letters. A rough sketch of the classroom arrangement is the following:


hallway
door
front of class
teacher's
desk
table
shelving along wall
L
R
table
back of class
shelving along wall
outside windows

# APPENDIX "B"

## INTERVIEW

The following is an example of an interview transcript taken from the researcher's field notes. In order to preserve the anonymity of the teacher and her school pseudonyms have been used in this trancript. The check marks, or the words or phrases in quotation marks under the "D'ACCORD" or "CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, AUTRES COMMENTAIRES" columns represent the grade 1 teacher's member checks or verification of the transcript.

INTERVIEW: France - Grade 1 Teacher,
January 21, 1981 - 3:40 - 4:15 p.m.
Verified transcript received February 25, 1981.

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| RESEARCHER: Ce que je voulais te demander c'est d'essayer de d'écrire dans tes propres mots ce qui se passe dans ta tête quand tu fais ta planification. Comment est-ce que tu t'y prends? | | ✓ |
| FRANCE: Premièrement, si c'est quelque chose qui m'intéresse, c'est facile à planifier. Des petites unités sur les vêtements puis des choses comme ça, ça ne m'intéresse pas du tout. Mais si c'est quelque chose d'intéressant, c'est plus facile à planifier. Alors, premièrement, je vais dans ma fillière et je vois ce que j'ai et ce que je n'ai pas. Deuxièment, je vais dans l'unité du School Board et puis j'essaie de mettre ça ensemble, le matériel que j'ai avec ce qu'ils ont. Puis si vraiment je n'ai pas assez de matériel, soit des photos ou des idées pour des discussions, ou des idées pour des jeux, ou pour des petits livrets, ou quelque chose comme ça, je vais aller chercher ça dans la bibliothèque ou je vais demander à | | |

VERBATIM INTERVIEW:

D'ACCORD

CHANGEMENTS,
ADDITIONS,
COMMENTAIRES

quelqu'un sur le côté anglais s'ils ont des unités tout simplement pour me donner des idées. Aux sources ça ce pond comme ça! Je commence avec, je préfère les petits livrets avec les élèves, faire un livret avec eux. Disons leur faire une vingtaine de pages. Comme là, on fait le cirque et puis j'ai fait une vingtaine de pages. J'ai trouvé des portraits dans les livres à colorier et puis j'écris une petite phrase avec le vocabulaire qui est important. Alors là, je peux passer deux semaines sur le cirque. Et puis, on commence d'habitude avec une vue générale du cirque. Je vais demander aux enfants s'ils connaissent le vocabulaire. Ils vont me dire tous les mots en anglais qu'ils peuvent penser sur le thème. Ensuite la deuxième journée je reviens avec les thèmes en français, mais plus spécifique. Comme cette année, j'ai commencé avec les personnages importants dans le cirque, le nain et puis le clown et puis le dompteur et ses lions, des choses come ça. Alors, on commence à parler des choses spécifiques. Ensuite on passe aux animaux, les animaux les plus importants. On ne peut pas tous les couvrir alors on en choisis sept ou huit et puis on va discuter ce que les animaux ont besoin et puis qui en prend soin, et puis qu'est-ce que ça serait vivre dans une cage. On parle de toutes sortes de choses et puis entre temps, si on est chanceux on peut avoir des films. Moi je les montre en anglais parce qu'on ne peut pas toujours les avoir en français. Alors, on montre les films et on discute en français l'histoire et puis le caractère et puis toutes sortes de choses comme ça. Et une unité comme ça, ça prend à peu près deux semaines, parce qu'on fait, comme aujourd'hui j'ai fait le manège et puis la semaine passé j'ai fait le dompteur et ses lions. Ca prend du temps! Ca prend une heure pour colorier, découper, et puis

✓

VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS COMMENTAIRES

✓

coller. Alors, j'essaie de prendre toutes les quatre activités d'art plastique avec eux pour amplifier la petite unité pour qu'ils aient quelque chose pour apporter à la maison et discuter avec leurs parents soit en anglais ou en français. Et puis le livret. Quand l'unité est complète, ils sont contents de mettre la laine dans le trou, d'assembler tout le livret et d'apporter ça à la maison.

RESEARCHER: J'ai remarqué que les petits livrets, que tu en avais pour les différentes unités que vous avez faites pendant l'année?

FRANCE: Oui! C'est comme ça que ça se passe! Alors, c'est ça une unité pour les études sociales pour moi. La planification, je pense que c'est plus facile si c'est quelque chose qui intéresse le professeur et si elle sait intéresser les élèves. L'unité sur les vêtements, je n'ai pas pu la faire parce qu'elle ne m'intéressait pas. J'ai passé trois jours à essayer de s'habiller, tu sais, "Je mets mon manteau. J'enlève mon manteau." J'étais fini! Je n'en pouvais plus! Je ne pouvais pas trouver d'autres idées pour les convaincre que ça serait intéressant. Pour moi ça ne l'était pas. Il faut simplement apprendre du vocabulaire. Ce n'était pas intéressant. Mais les petites unités sur Noël, on a passé du temps sur ça aussi. Entre temps si on est chanceux de trouver un livre en français, je vais leur lire une petite histoire. Même je vais prendre un petit livre en anglais et puis je vais traduire à mesure, juste pour leur conter une petite histoire en français.

RESEARCHER: Est-ce que tu trouves que quand tu fais ta planification que tu penses à long terme pour toute l'unité?

FRANCE: Oui! D'habitude je me fais, je me donne un guide, là, trois semaines et

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| puis j'écris mes dates. Bon, telle ou telle date je peux faire telle ou telle chose. Je me donne toujours 2 ou 3 jours vers la fin du cours de trois semaines pour finir et puis si j'ai fini, bien tant mieux, et si je n'ai pas fini, bien ça me donne le temps de soit finir de rassembler le livret ou montrer un film que j'ai réussi à avoir, ou des choses comme ça, tu sais. Ah! Oui! Il faut faire ça à long terme. Si on fait ça de jour en jour, de semaine en semaine, ce n'est pas un ensemble d'idées. C'est seulement des petites tranches. Tu sais, ça ne fais pas comme tout un repas de choses. Des petites choses ici et là. Des petits snacks! | ✓ | |
| RESEARCHER: Quand tu planifies, est-ce que tu as certains buts dans la tête? Des objectifs ou des intentions? Comment vois-tu ça? | | |
| FRANCE: Oui! Bon! Des objectifs pour une unité pour moi c'est: Premièrement, d'enseigner le vocabulaire. Pas premièrement. Premièrement, c'est d'intéresser les élèves, okay! D'avoir leurs attentions. Deuxièment, c'est d'enseigner le vocabulaire. Pas simplement que les élèves puissent comprendre quand je leur parle d'un jongleur ou d'un clown, des chiens qui sautent dans un cerceau, ou quelque chose come ça, mais à la fin de l'unité s'ils vont être capables de me dire qu'ils ont vu telle ou telle chose ou bien qu'ils aimeraient être telle ou telle chose en français. Ca c'est le deuxième but, et puis il est pas mal important! Le troisième but c'est d'apprendre. Pas simplement d'apprendre quelque chose "for the heck of it," tu sais, juste pour apprendre. Apprendre quelque chose qui n'est pas d'ordinaire, je ne sais pas comment je dirais ça, d'apprendre quelque chose qui va leur servir plus tard. Quelque chose qui va leur être utile. Comme je suis certaine qu'il y en a de | ✓ | |

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| ces élèves là qui sont déjà allés au cirque et ils peuvent, comme s'attacher à des idées, "Bien, j'ai déjà vu ça, et bien j'ai vu telle ou telle chose au zoo. J'ai vu telle ou telle chose en voyage." Quelque chose qu'ils peuvent, tu sais, | | |
| **RESEARCHER:** Tu veux dire rattacher ça avec leurs expériences? | | |
| **FRANCE:** Oui! Quelque chose de concret. Mais il faut que ce soit quelque chose, premièrement, intéressant, tant qu'à moi. Les petites unités comme la maison et des choses comme ça, ce n'est pas tellement intéressant, mais si on peut l'enseigner en vue de jeux, comme j'avais fait un jeu pour eux pour faire ça un peu plus intéressant pour les élèves parce que ce n'est pas vraiment si intéressant parler de sa maison pour trois semaines tout le temps. Mais si on peut introduire un jeu au milieu et à mesure qu'on parle du vocabulaire aux enfants, ils peuvent jouer plus facilement. Ca ça devient plus intéressant, mais si ce n'est pas rapporté à des choses de leurs expériences dans la vie, ce n'est pas important pour les élèves à moins que quelqu'un développe une unité sur les U.F.O. ou quelque chose comme ça. Mais cela ça les intéressent parce qu'ils voient ça à la journée à la télévision. Ils parlent de cela et des petites poupées, des bebelles. Ce n'est pas plus profond que ça. C'est plus profond que ça, mais quand on l'analyse directement ce n'est pas plus profond que ça. On espère que les enfants vont l'intérioriser et puis être capable de mettre ça en perspective et puis on espère pour le mieux. | ✓ | |
| **RESEARCHER:** Est-ce que tu t'apperçois, disons à mi-chemin, que tu découvres que ça ne les intéresse pas? Est-ce que tu arrives à changer ta planification? | | |
| **FRANCE:** Oui! Soit que je vais couper, je | | |

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| vais arrêter complètement, tu sais, s'il y en a cinq ou six qui viennent me voir et disent: "Oh! This is boring!" Sans doute que ce soit ma présentation ou bien le matériel qu'on couvre qui n'est pas intéressant. Je vais simplement leur demander: "Bien, vous n'aimez pas ça?" "It's boring!" La plupart du temps ils vont me dire pourquoi ils trouvent ça plate. "Oh! I don't like this!" Je pense qu'ils ont les mêmes idées que moi ou j'essaie de me mettre dans leurs bottes quand je dis que si ce n'est pas intéressant pour moi, ça ne peut pas l'être pour eux. Alors, si ma présentation n'est pas intéressante pour moi sans doute que les élèves ne sont pas intéressés non plus. Mais à mi-chemin ça arrive souvent qu'on va changer le ton. Je vais me trouver une petite chanson, on va composer une petite chanson dans le milieu de l'unité pour égayer les choses et puis je vais leur faire un genre de compromis. Je vais leur dire: "Si on peut finir telle ou telle chose par vendredi, ça va être fini." Tu sais, ils savent que la fin s'en vient. Il faut se rendre compte des élèves qui ne sont pas intéressés dans une telle ou telle chose mais on ne peut pas plaire à tout le monde parce qu'il y a des petits enfants à qui on ne peut pas plaire.<br>RESEARCHER: Est-ce que tu t'apperçois que les choses qui t'intéresses ça n'intéresse pas une partie de tes élèves?<br>FRANCE: La plupart du temps ça marche. Comme je dis, il y a certains petits garçons dans ma classe que je pense que nos unités d'études sociales, on pourrait s'en passer, tu sais. Depuis le mois de september je ne suis pas arrivéee à trouver quelque chose qui les touchent vraiment, mais il faudrait que j'aille soit dans un thème d'avions d'espace, des choses surréelles, tu sais. Mais la plupart de ces élèves n'ont pas une maturité pour | ✓ | |

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| discuter ou partager. Ils sont encore des bébés, alors la plupart des élèves qui ne sont pas intéressés c'est parce qu'ils ne sont pas capables de soit couper, ou colorier. Ils ne sont pas capables de s'asseoir et d'écouter une histoire. Ils ne sont pas capables d'attendre leur tour pour donner une réponse. Toutes sortes de choses comme ça. Il faut continuellement être sur leur dos, et puis: "Would you please wait!" et puis des choses comme ça. C'est un cercle vicieux! | ✓ | |
| RESEARCHER: Et puis avec 30, tu en avais 31 au début de l'année, un autre à Noël, 32, et puis là tu es rendue à 34, il faut qu'ils soient patients, il me semble, il faut qu'ils développent une patience? | | |
| FRANCE: Oui! Oui! Et puis je leur dis souvent, "C'est vien de valeur, on est un gros groupe!" C'est difficile à comprendre pour les petits, mais je trouve qu'un moment donné il va falloir qu'ils développent une tolérance. C'est pour cela qu'on a des gens qui nous klaxonnent si on ne décole pas tout de suite à la lumière verte. Ils n'ont pas de patience! Il faut que ça commence à un point mais c'est bien de valeur qu'il faut que ça commence si tôt, mais c'est une grosse classe, mais, "I'm sorry, that's the way it is." | ✓ | |
| RESEARCHER: J'étais pour te demander, dans ta planification est-ce que tu as des sortes de méthodes ou des stragégies que tu préfères? | | |
| FRANCE: Comme? | | |
| RESEARCHER: Bien disons dans ton approche, comment tu vas faire les choses. Par exemple, une chose que tu dis c'est que tu aimes à leur faire faire un petit cahier et puis après ça, l'art qui rentre là-dedans, | | |
| FRANCE: Bon, bien! L'art, la musique, le | | |

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| | | ✓ |

livret pour incorporer toutes sortes de choses, le vocabulaire, le coloriage, les histoires, écouter une histoire, regarder un film, peut-être une activité physique, comme on a parlé de l'hiver, des choses comme ça et on est allé faire des bonhommes de neige. Je pense si on peut relier, si on peut inclure toutes sortes d'activités on est plus chanceux de toucher à plusieurs élèves que d'en manquer un si on fait seulement un petit livret, et puis quelques petites chansons. Parce qu'il y en a beaucoup qui n'aiment pas colorier mais qui adorent découper. Ils passent des heures à découper. Mais ils sont très bon à chanter et ils haïssent colorier, ou des choses comme ça. Je pense qu'on touche â plusieurs compétences, des habiletés, ou des activités favorites, des choses qui sont spéciales à certains élèves. Si on peut inclure toutes sortes de choses comme ça. Pour moi, ça prend à-peu-près deux semaines pour planifier une unité d'avance par le temps que j'ai regardé dans mon "learning resource guide book" s'ils ont des films et puis les commander, faire des copies des livrets et trouver toutes les petites images que je veux me servir et puis ça prend à-peu-près deux semaines. Alors, j'essaie d'incorporer toutes sortes de choses.

RESEARCHER: Est-ce que tu t'apperçois après que tu as enseigné certaines parties de ton unité que tu évalues ce que tu as fait, ou le matériel, ou les choses?

FRANCE: Oui! J'évalue surtout les choses. Je pense que j'évalue surtout ma présentation. Tu sais, je vais dire: "Ah! Bien! Cette chanson là j'aurais pu l'enseigner d'une meilleur façon. J'aurais du attendre ou bien." Tu sais, je ne marque pas ça sur un petit morceau de papier mais il y a des choses que je vais noter, surtout si j'ai vu des bons films, des choses comme ça. Je vais toujours me

VERBATIM INTERVIEW: D'ACCORD CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES

garder une fillière des bons films que j'ai vu, des choses qui ont intéressé les enfants. Et puis si je suis assez chanceuse je vais garder un exemplaire qu'un enfant a fait pour moi d'année en année, alors je peux soit comparer d'une année en année ou je peux voir vraiment ce que cela à l'air une fois que l'enfant a fini parce que même si on voit un petit manège en carton ou papier c'est tellement beau mais si on peut voir un exemplaire que l'enfant a complété, c'est plus facile. Alors, je pense qu'il y a un certain montant d'évaluation qui se passe. C'est plutôt spontanée mais à la fin d'une unité je vais m'organiser une petite fillière avec mes idées dedans, des choses qui n'ont pas bien marchées, je fais un X. Je garde le portrait mais la prochaine fois j'espère que je vais le laisser aller ou bien l'adapter à quelque chose d'autre ou ces choses. Mais c'est très intéressant aller voir. Comme cette semaine, ça fait deux semaines depuis Noël. On écrit les noms dans les cahiers d'ortographe. On écrit le nom des animaux. Alors là on peut discuter un peu. Je leur fait deviner quel animal on va écrire. Mais les enfants deviennent pas mal excités avec ça. Ils ont passé des heures faire des serpents en papier s'en avoir été obligé de leur dire: "Bien, vous devriez faire des serpents ou quelque chose comme ça." Ils ont été capable de relier ça à l'expérience qu'on leur a parlé hier. Ils vont dire: "Ah! Ca c'est un crocodile." Tu sais, quand on regarde même dans le cahier de lecture, "Crocodile! Oui! Oh! We wrote that last week." et ils vont dire: "Oh! Les crocodiles c'est gros et c'est vert, et ça a une grande bouche."

RESEARCHER: Ils ont commencé a écrire? Quand?

FRANCE: Il y en a qui ont commencé a écrire vers le 15 décembre. Alors, s'ils

VERBATIM INTERVIEW: D'ACCORD CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES

peuvent relier cela ça devient bien plus intéressant, pour eux et pour moi aussi.

RESEARCHER: Alors, ce n'est pas juste écrire des mots pour leur apprendre à écrire mais le mot doit avoir un sens pour eux?

FRANCE: Oui! Comme éléphant. C'est un mot difficile pour eux mais ils connaissent le son de "é." Ils connaissent le son de "l." Il faut discuter la "an" et puis le "ph" et puis le "t" silencieux. Mais une fois qu'ils vont l'avoir vu, ils vont être capable de voir "élé" et puis dans un contexte d'une histoire ils vont être capable de relier ça à l'éléphant. Mais ça devient plus intéressant. On peut discuter pendant la journée. Ca ne devient pas seulement une chose d'enseigner, on peut relier. Comme le matin, je vais les appeler des "tortues" parce qu'ils ne vont pas assez vite, des choses comme ça. Alors, quand je leur enseigne la lecture je vais leur dire: "Qu'est-ce que je t'ai appelé ce matin, là? Tu ne te souviens pas? Ca commence avec un "t." C'est des choses comme ça. C'est plus amicale du professeur juste à cause de quelque chose qu'on a discuté, soit en études sociales ou en sciences si ça se passe pas mal pareil.

✓

RESEARCHER: Ca devient quelque chose qu'ils ont en commun?

FRANCE: Oui! Oui! Et puis ils vont voir toutes sortes de choses. Comme la semaine passé, il y avait deux petits gars qui ne savaient pas quoi faire. Bien j'ai dit: "Allez voir les pancartes, là, et trouvez-moi tous les petits animaux. Trouvez-moi les mots et puis dessinez-moi des petits animaux, tu sais. Ah! Ils étaient contents. Ils en avaient trouvé une dizaine. Ils savaient tous lire les mots, alors après ça on est revenu et on a discuté que certains animaux ne sortent

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| pas de la jungle, puis certains animaux vont au zoo, des animaux vont au cirque et certains animaux vont à la maison. Ca leur fait tout un sujet de discussion juste à cause qu'ils sont capables de relier ça à quelque chose. Ca devient bien plus intéressant que juste apprendre tous les mots avec le son de "é." | | |
| **RESEARCHER:** C'était quelque chose de spontanée, que tu as pensé d'en envoyer quelques-uns trouver des images? | | |
| **FRANCE:** Oui! Oui! Parce qu'il y en a qui ne savent jamais quoi faire, même si je leur préparerais des feuilles avec quelque chose. | | |
| **RESEARCHER:** Ils aiment mieux créer les choses eux-mêmes? | | |
| **FRANCE:** Oui! A cet âge ici, je ne devrais pas dire que c'est la majorité. Il y en a plusieurs qui sont très, très craintifs. A cet âge ici, ils font toutes sortes de choses tout seuls. On leur donne une petite idée et après ça ils sont partis. Ils s'en vont trouver un petit coin en quelque part, ou bien je leur prépare des enveloppes avec des cartes qui vont avec. Bon! Ils se rendent sur la planche avec des clous et puis ils mettent ça ensemble. Je leur mets ça et puis d'habitude ce sont des mots qu'ils peuvent soit calculer, tu sais, ils peuvent savoir si c'est ça. Après une secousse ça devient spontané. Mais d'habitude j'essaie de mettre des mots qui sont autour de la classe avec qui ils sont très, très familiés. Mais il faut toucher à tout le monde. Ca arrive des fois qu'il y en a à qui on ne peut pas plaire. C'est bien de valeur, mais ils vont peut-être rencontrer quelqu'un un jour qui va leur plaire. Peut-être en deuxième que le professeur va être capable de toucher à quelqu'un d'autre d'une autre façon. | | "créatifs" |

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| **RESEARCHER:** Pour arriver à les connaître au niveau vraiment personnel quand tu en as tellement ça doit être assez difficile? | | |
| **FRANCE:** C'est difficile! Très, très difficile! Une petite fille, elle a peut-être parlée dix fois depuis le mois de septembre. Ca c'est une petite fille très tranquille et elle est réservée, elle est tellement gênée, mais tellement réservée. Elle partage les choses avec les élèves, mais c'est jamais une voix forte, c'est toujours doux, doux, doux. Elle m'aime bien et puis je l'aime bien, mais on n'a pas de communication parce que je n'ai jamais le temps de lui demander. Je vais peut-être lui demander deux fois par semaine parce qu'on s'occupe plutôt de ceux qui font le bruit. C'est de valeur! C'est intéressant les études sociales, mais c'est très, très complexe pour moi. C'est tellement une chose de base, mais si ce n'est pas intéressant, il faut que ça soit personnel pour les enfants. C'est pour cela qu'on parle des choses tellement familiale, et à mesure que les enfants peuvent s'ouvrir l'idée à la communauté, la ville, le pays. Même comme c'est là, il y en a qui n'ont pas la maturité même de parler du cirque, "Est-ce que tu aimes le cirque?" "Oui! J'aime le cirque." C'est tout! Ils n'ont pas d'expériences. Ils n'ont pas d'animal favori. Ils ne veulent plus rien discuter. They just want to get it over with! | ✓ | "A un ulcèrs" |
| **RESEARCHER:** C'est curieux! Tu te demandes pourquoi qu'ils ont des attitudes comme ça? | | |
| **FRANCE:** Moi je pense que c'est une influence, pas de la société, je ne veux pas généraliser si loin de cela, mais je pense que c'est une influence d'avoir tellement de choix. Ils ont le choix à la télévision. Ils ont le choix quand ils vont au magasin avec leur mère. Ils ont le choix de faire toutes sortes de choses. On est pas obligé de rien faire, là. Souvent | | ✓ |

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS<br>ADDITIONS,<br>COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| ce n'est pas intéressant, mais j'ai le choix. On fera d'autres choses une autre journée, ou quelque chose comme ça. | | |
| RESEARCHER: Parce que quand on en a trop, des fois on apprécie pas les petites choses de la vie. | | |
| FRANCE: C'est certain! Oui! C'est pas mal comme ça. | | |
| RESEARCHER: C'est intéressant à la première année de voir, | | |
| FRANCE: Oh! Ils ont leurs idées! On peut déja voir ça. Ceux qui sont pratiques, disons, ils ont un choix craintif. Ils peuvent, tu sais, ils vont dire: "I don't like doing this!" Ils vont toujours se compromettre à quelque chose. | | |
| RESEARCHER: S'ils n'aiment pas une chose, ils sont prêts à faire autre chose? | | |
| FRANCE: Ils sont prêts à faire autre chose ou bien, ils vont finir en but de faire quelque chose qu'ils aiment. Mais ceux qui ne sont pas craintifs, qui sont ni tolérants, ni patients, "I just don't like this!" C'est sec! C'est fini! Je ne peux pas faire un "deal" avec eux-autres, tu sais, tu ne peux pas les entrainer à rien faire, "Tu sais, si tu finis ça là, bien là." "Non! I just don't like this! I don't want to do that either!" Ils ont leurs idées de faites. Déjà ils ont une idée étroite. C'est étrange de voir ça. Cinq ans, six ans, parce qu'il y en a qui n'ont pas encore six ans. | | ✓ |
| RESEARCHER: Est-ce qu'il y en a que tu peux voir qu'ils ont déjà l'esprit critique? | | |
| FRANCE: Ah! Oui! C'est à cet âge ici que je pense que les enfants ont le plus de compliments. Comme si quelqu'un colorie | | |

| VERBATIM INTERVIEW: | D'ACCORD | CHANGEMENTS, ADDITIONS, COMMENTAIRES |
|---|---|---|
| bien, "Boy! Is that ever nice!" Ou bien, "Boy! Tu as une belle robe aujourd'hui!" Tu sais, ils vont être même critique de moi, "I sure like that blouse you had on yesterday!" Des choses comme ça, tu sais. Ils vont comparer, s'ils me voient porter de différentes bagues ou quelque chose qui leur plaît. La plupart du temps, ils vont dire, bien s'ils m'entendent être critique, comme je vais dire, "Tu barbouilles comme un petit enfant de la maternelle!" Ils vont dire la même chose: "Boy, do you scribble!" | | ✓ |

# APPENDIX "C"

## FIRST CLASSIFICATION OF DATA

The following is an example of the first step of the analytical procedure undertaken to test relationships between teachers' proposed plans of action for social studies teaching and the researcher's observations of their classroom curricular actions. In order to preserve the anonymity of the teacher and her school pseudonyms have been used in this transcript. The check mark in the "APPROVE" column represents the grade 2 teacher's verification of the interpretations.

| CATEGORY NO. 4: Classroom Social Studies Curriculum - Grade 2 | | |
|---|---|---|
| SUB-CATEGORY: Marie Planning a Line of Action for a Unit or Theme on "L'automne." | Approve | Researcher's Observations of Marie Teaching Lessons on "L'automne." |
| October 8, 1980 Interview:<br>"Je vais essayer l'unité sur L'automne. ... Je vais voir ce que je peux trouver." | ✓ | |
| October 15, 1980 Interview:<br>"L'autre jour je te disais qu'on va faire l'automne. Ici dans notre horaire il n'y a pas beaucoup de place qui dit, "L'automne." Alors, ils nous donnent ce temps là pour le mois d'octobre ... et puis il faut que tu fasses "L'automne." ... Alors, on commence demain matin sur l'automne. ... Demain matin ça va être la première fois qu'on en parle de l'automne. C'est-à-dire, que tu en parles avec ton vocabulaire que tu développes au début de l'année quand tu parles des saisons. Alors, tu parles des feuilles qui | | October 16, 1980 Classroom Observation.<br>Marie introduced new vocabulary on fall and then asked the students questions. The vocabulary and the questions centered around the senses: regarder; écouter; toucher; sentir; goûter. She asked the students what autumn means, |

| CATEGORY NO. 4: Classroom Social Studies Curriculum - Grade 2 | | |
|---|---|---|
| SUB-CATEGORY: Marie Planning a Line of Action for a Unit or Theme on "L'automne." | Approve | Researcher's Observations of Marie Teaching Lessons on "L'automne." |
| tombent, "Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?" "Qu'est-ce qu'on fait?" ... la nourriture; l'abri ... "Ce qui arrive aux animaux?" Toutes ces choses là vont être développés. ... Il faut que tu varies tes activités ... Il faut partir du vocabulaire passé des élèves. | ✓ | what we do in the fall, i.e. what we eat that is special to fall (pumpkin from the garden); the gathering of nuts by the squirrels, etc., the kinds of clothing we wear and why. After the question segment, Marie and the students sang the song: "Petit nuages blanc, petit nuages gris, etc." She taught them a "petite contine" in the segment which followed about fall from a book she had in her hands with the title, "L'automne." Eventually, the students were given a booklet which contained fall pictures for coloring and short simple sentences for reading about fall. The instructions were read by the teacher and students. A discussion then followed. Marie had the students apply their vocabulary to talk about what we can do in the fall at the lake, and what sports we can play.<br>October 23, 1980 Classroom Observation<br>Marie showed the students an educational film on fall and asked them to discuss their observations using the vocabulary previously learned. She then had them color a large fall leaf. |